J11876

THE PENTECOSTAL-CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT IN ZAMBIA: ORAL HISTORY OF ITS EMERGENCE, EVOLUTION, DEVELOPMENT AND ETHOS (1940s-2010s)

By

NELSON MAKUKULA

A Thesis Submitted to

The University of Chester

For the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Theology and Religious Studies

University of Chester

UK

October 2018

Author Declaration

I hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety, or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

..... **.....**

Signature **Date**

Dedication

This dissertation is a dedication to my wife, Salome who has constantly and persistently encouraged my pursuit of scholarly excellence for nearly ten years. I hope that this thesis will prove to be a useful resource for people in both the church and academy who are attempting to discern the importance of Pentecostalism in Zambia in the present, and in its influence on future generations.

Acknowledgements

Involvement in Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity has been the personal inspiration that has provided me with the opportunity of studying the history of the emergence, evolution, development and ethos of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches, as presented in this PhD thesis. The completion of my research has only been made possible by the assistance, encouragement, support and co-operation of many people, far too numerous to be able to mention each individually by name. First and foremost, I am thankful to God for enabling me to complete this thesis. I am indebted to my dear wife, Salome for her support, sacrifice, encouragement and prayers. I am also deeply appreciative to the following individuals, families and churches for the support afforded to me in various ways:

- I thank my primary supervisor Dr. Mathew S. Clark, Academic Dean of Postgraduate Students at Regents Theological College. His knowledge of Pentecostalism and his special interest in African Pentecostalism has inspired me in venturing into a most valuable tract of enquiry.
- I am grateful to my personal academic tutor, Dr. Paul Middleton, Director of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Chester, for his professional guidance.
- My gratitude extends toTimo Payne who kindly proof read my final draft and offered various useful comments that helped to clarify some of my thoughts. I offer thanks also to Dr. Timothy B. Walsh and Jon Staddon who proof read part of the initial draft.
- I would also like to thank Dr. Keith Warrington, former Vice-Principal at Regents Theological College, Dr. Martin Clay, Academic Dean of Post-Graduate Studies at Regents Theological College, and Dr. Richard Allsopp Regents Theological College's Database Administrator for their helpful input.

- I would like to express appreciation for the financial support received from Mr and Mrs Niel and Rosemary Genders, Mr and Mrs John and Nora Spencer, Mr and Mrs Gerald and Lin Sidery, Mr and Mrs Brian and Viv Dacre, Ms Sheila Daniel, and the Lindworth Community Church.
- I spent several months over a period of four years conducting research in Zambia. I would like to thank all the bishops, reverends, pastors, church elders, scholars, historians, theologians, as well as a number lay people there, who granted me audience whenever face-to-face oral interviews were needed.
- Lastly, may I give special thanks to my mother Tifwilemo Lungu Makukula, who has endured years of neglect, yet has been a continual source of encouragement to me.

Abstract

Since the late 1880s, Zambia has been engaged in a repeated series of encounters with Christian renewals. The arrival of Pentecostalism will be viewed as the palpable product of this intensely creative process. Zambian Pentecostalism emerged in continuity with the fruit of European Christian missionary enterprise, but its more contemporary version evolved in spontaneous response to the rise and ministry of influential local Zambian leaders such as Joel Chidzakazi Phiri, prophetess Alice Lenshina, evangelist Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba, Winston Broomes, and Jack and Winsome Muggleton. The activities of these key figures led to the formation and prominence of three main church streams across Zambia: Prophetic and Pentecostal-type Pentecostalism, Classical Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism. The brand of Pentecostalism that emerged in Zambia in the 1940s has been influenced by several theological, cultural, political and social influences. One noticeable feature of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches has been their change in character across the decades from holiness and evangelistic traditions of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s to the faith and prosperity ministry of the 2010s. Pentecostal-Charismatic has become engaged in the public sphere by the early 1990s. A further development since the 2000s has been the prominence of the prophetic and apostolic, which is the combination of teaching mainly from the USA and various strands of previous ministries with an emphasis on miracles, deliverance, prosperity and prophecy.

List of Illustrations

Photos

Tables

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN ZAMBIA

HISTORY OF PENTECOSTALISM IN ZAMBIA

PART FOUR

CONCLUSION

Abbreviation and Acronyms

ACS	*African Christian Studies*
AE	*The Australian Evangel*
AER	*African Ecclesial Review*
AJM	*Asian Journal of Mission*
AJPS	*African Journal of Pentecostal Studies*
APS	*Australian Pentecostal Studies*
CDQFM	*Communication Division and Quarterly Fellowship Magazine*
CR	*Culture and Religion*
DEM	*Dictionary of Ecumenical Movement*
EA	*Ethnologia Actualis*
EFZ	*Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia*
EBMR	*International Bulletin of Missionary Research*
IJSCC	*International Journal for the Study of Christian Church*
IJSCH	*International Journal of the Study of the Christian Church*
IRM	*International Review of Mission*
ICR	*Journal of Contemporary Religion*
JEPTA	*Journal of the European Theological Association*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JIMMA	*Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*
JPS	*Journal of Pentecostal Studies*
JPT	*Journal of Pentecostal Theology*
JPTS	*Journal of Pentecostal and Theological Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Religion in Africa*

JRH	*Journal of Religion and Health*
JSAS	*Journal of Southern African Studies*
NIDPC	*The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement*
OBMR	*Occasional Bulletin of Mission Research*
PSQ	*Political Science Quarterly*
RIAARS	*Religious Innovation in Africa and African Religious Scholarship*
SIHCSR	*Studies in Intercultural History of Christianity*
	Sociology of Religion

CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTATION

1.0. Introduction

The important events and themes relevant to gaining an insight into the history of Zambian Pentecostalism will be approached by way of an overview of the background of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement as it developed in Zambia. Pentecostalism is a movement within Christianity which places special emphasis on a believer's direct personal encounter with God through the Holy Spirit.[1] Pentecostalism has become the dominant force in Zambian Christianity,[2] creating the impetus for a wide-ranging study investigating and detailing the emergence of Pentecostalism in Zambia. Connections previously unknown to historians have been uncovered that link the emergence of Pentecostalism in continuity with the fruit of earlier European missionary enterprises.

The crucial importance of Zambian Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, not only to Zambia itself, but across the breadth of Pentecostalism in Africa will become apparent. Its development will be projected against the broader cultural, social, religious, political and economic background of the country. This will be supported by both primary oral sources, and secondary source material, allowing analysis of the oral history of Zambian Pentecostalism to be conducted, from its emergence, through evolution, and into development, covering the 1940s to the present. The thesis is based on assumption that the

[1] For instance, Dayton notes that "Pentecostalism is a form of Christianity oriented towards the immediate experience of the Holy Spirit usually, through the practices such as glossolalia, healing and prophecy." See Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury, 1987), 15-33.
[2] While exact figures are uncertain as Mahdi points out that "any study of religious affiliation in Zambia must necessarily start with a blank as far as the numbers and composition of particular adherents are concerned." See Abbas A. Mahdi, "Secular Education of Muslim Children in Zambia," *JIMMA*, vol. 3, Issue 2 (1981): 86-98.

1940s form a distinct phase in the religious and social history of Zambian Pentecostalism. The 1940s arguably serve as the touchstone by which the origins of Pentecostalism in Zambia can be understood and evaluated. Having presupposed the veracity of the narrative that Pentecostalism in Zambia emerged in the late 1950s, most scholars have been reluctant to recognise the Pentecostal status of the Independent Zambian Churches, especially the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, and have not accepted these as forerunners of the form of classical Pentecostalism that later emerged in Zambia. At the heart of this thesis is a fundamental rethink of how Pentecostalism emerged in Zambia, and reanalysis of how it has evolved over time. In documenting previously unknown history of the Zambian church, the crucial importance of the earliest Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of churches[3] to the whole of Pentecostalism in Zambia will be revealed.

1.1. The Thesis Statement

Zambian Pentecostalism emerged in continuity with the fruit of the European missionary enterprise, but its true growth potential was realised through the spiritual encounters and ministries of Joel Chidzakazi Phiri, Jack and Winsome Muggleton, Winson David Broomes, Alice Lenshina, Broomes and Nevers Sekwila Mumba, directly and the most significant contributors to the rise of a Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Pentecostalism, Classical Pentecostalism, and Neo-Pentecostalism.

[3] For a discussion of the differences in African Initiated Churches (AICs), see Allan Anderson, *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the Twentieth th Century* (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 2001), 10-22. For a broader discussion of the classification of African Christianity, see Paul Kollman, "Classifying African Christianities: Past, Present, and Future (Part One)," *JRA*, vol. 40 (2010): 3-32.

1.2. Aims of this Study

The following are the main aims of this study:

Aim One: The first aim of this study is to investigate the emergence, development and evolution of Zambian Pentecostalism within the social, economic, cultural and religious context throughout the colonial and post-colonial eras, illuminating the antecedents and conditions surrounding its growth and subsequent evolution in the post-independence era. The period 1940s to 2010s will be covered, accounting for the earliest spiritual experiences of independent Zambian churches, prior to the accepted 1957 date for commencement of classical Pentecostalism in Zambia.

Aim Two: The second aim of this study is to uncover central aspects of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic theologies and practices during this period (1940s-2010s), especially in its understanding of pneumatology in terms of baptism in the Holy Spirit and glossolalia, and in the themes of eschatology, salvation, divine healing, holiness and sanctification, evangelism, and prosperity.

Aim Three: The third aim of this study is to explore ways in which findings from this study can provide a corrective balance to Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic leaders who currently promote either the, so called, prosperity Gospel, or forms of social Pentecostalism. The perspective the author takes on these issues is derived in part from his background in a Classical Pentecostal denomination having been involved since his teenage years. Pentecostalism needs to meet the needs of society, if it is to remain relevant within the changing nature of a modern nation. In the history of Pentecostalism in Zambia, relevance arose from a close knit of society especially in the 1990s, an era during which Pentecostalism transformed into a form of Social Pentecostalism. Today, the religious and socio-political scene in Zambia is far removed from the 1990s. Hence there is an urgent need for the

Pentecostal-Charismatic church to re-examine its relevance to a fast-changing Zambian society, formulating sound theologies on both socio-political and prosperity gospel issues that impact modern-day Zambian society.

1.2.1. The Pursuit of Aims

In pursuit of the aims of this study, other works addressing some of the issues covered in this thesis will be considered. The focus will be deliberately multidisciplinary, with the following advantages gained by working across disciplinary boundaries:

a. Strengths within different academic disciplines can be utilised, applying scholarly contributions and combining disparate concepts, synthesised in creative and novel ways.
b. Potential weaknesses in the approaches of different academic disciplines can be mitigated by the fusion of a new understanding of emerging issues drawing upon the wider disciplinary base.
c. The interaction of different academic disciplines can be both catalytic and synergistic with new ideas emerging, the plurality potentially also having a multiplier effect.

The work of different scholars will be compared, and contrasted with certain critical trends in history, sociology and theology. The rationale is that benefits are likely to be derived from current developments in Pentecostal scholarship focused upon and within the contemporary Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. The research aims to demystify the oral history of Zambian Pentecostal movement, and in doing so, to uncover and theological trends and tendencies within the movement. In the process, the likely challenges which the movement faces in the coming years will become apparent.

1.3. The Suppositions of this Study

Both the process and the outcome of a research project will be significantly affected by its underlying theoretical framework. The following are several relevant premises that will be applied:

a. A transdisciplinary approach to research of this nature is most likely to yield more widely validated conclusions than an approach which is more narrowly focused.
b. An eclectic approach to oral sources will help to paint a broader, and in this case, more comprehensive picture of how Pentecostalism initially emerged in Zambia.
c. It can be argued that the fortunes of Pentecostalism in Zambia cannot be fully understood if the impact of the nation's primal religious background is ignored.
d. Social and cultural patterns are products of oral history. Hence, oral history is explainable in terms of social and cultural patterns.
e. Any oral historical account should be recognised as historical by its primary source contributors. This axiom, like all other axiom, cannot be proven. However, if the sources reject the portrayal, we can assume that the interpretation may legitimately be taken as an alien landscape to the individuals contributing.
f. Pentecostalism is global in origin. Both the global and regional growth of Pentecostalism has been reflected in the Zambian context. It can thus be anticipated that the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic phenomenon emerged with at least a degree of continuity with European mission.
g. Spiritual experience is key in Pentecostalism. Thus, each phase in the developmental process of Pentecostalism in Zambia should be related to the introduction of aspects of the activities of the Holy Spirit that revolutionised worship into a fervent type of worship, which has also impacted other Christian expressions of faith.

h. Emergent expressions may defy classification. It is especially difficult to place the early Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of churches in Zambia into a confessional framework, because their experiences without theology ill-prepared them for a satisfying apologetic.
i. The ethos and spirituality of all three streams of Zambian Pentecostalism are likely to be transmitted primarily as oral theologies.

1.4. Identifying the Gap in Knowledge

The works of different scholars on Zambian Pentecostalism betray a gap in knowledge, especially in areas of historiography and Pentecostal-Charismatic church theologies and practices. Although Pentecostalism in Zambia has grown rapidly, and is still growing,[4] the scholarly attention attracted by this phenomenon has not focussed adequately on its origins,[5] failing to engage with the different histories surrounding its various founding expressions. The majority who have written on the general history of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia have relied too heavily on the movement's 1970s and 1990s appeal and its implications. The salient concern of most in depth research, has only been to identify and explain the current state of the movement, without critically determining its local historical roots, its internal growth, development and evolution, as well as its theologies and practices. It is not surprising to note that, some of these researchers have made some troubling assertions and assumptions, especially about the emergence of Pentecostalism in Zambia. Most studies, including those which have proliferated since President Frederick Jacob Titus

[4] See Johnson and Mandryk observe that "about a quarter of the Zambian population claim to be Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians." See Patrick Johnson and Jason Mandryk, *Operations World: 21st Century Edition* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001), 21.
[5] Most scholars of Pentecostalism have conceded that a viable Pentecostal self-understanding must take note of the historical roots of any Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. For more see, Allan Anderson, "Varieties, Taxonomies and Definitions," in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson, et al., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 25.

Chiluba pronounced Zambia as a ‘Christian Nation’ in his constitutional declaration of 1991, have in part ignored the colonial trajectory. This study assumes that the 1940s (colonial period) forms a distinct phase in the religious and social history of Pentecostalism in Zambia. As the title of this thesis suggests, an important goal will be to demystify the oral history of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia, and to take into consideration the colonial trajectory in testing and assessing a new understanding of the emergence and growth of the movement.

1.5. Contribution to Scholarship

Original primary source material on the oral history of Zambian Pentecostalism, collected through interviews, and collated and analysed in this thesis, provides a contribution valuable to understanding the evolution and development of the Zambian church. Several important theological, cultural, political and social influences that shaped the brand of Pentecostalism that emerged in Zambia in the 1940s will be identified. One result will be to redress a deficit in the growing and internationalising field of Pentecostal-Charismatic studies, contributing to the wider discussion on Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. A wealth of new oral witness recollections about Zambian Pentecostalism makes for more than interesting reading, enriching the historical knowledge base about the period. The study gives voice to hitherto overlooked interviewees who should be considered as key figures significantly contributing to the development of Pentecostalism in Zambia, such as, Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba. Whilst most scholarly research in this field has principally explored the movement from the 1970s, this dissertation will cover a far broader range of seven decades (1940s to 2010s). A comprehensive history of the hitherto faceless side of Pentecostalism in Zambia is presented, with its primary lines of contribution being a detailed assessment, evaluation, analysis, and

reflection on the emergence, growth, evolution and the ethos behind Zambian Pentecostalism. A large portion of this study will also significantly contribute to the knowledge base about the movement. It would be inconceivable not to acknowledge the many insights and labours of other scholars, writers and historians who have already given shape to many of the contours of international, African and Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic history. Such material will be utilised in this study, but substantial new evidentially based insights into Zambian Pentecostalism will be added, which are hoped in turn to provide a significant framework to shape further research. This will be made possible by presenting a comprehensive account of the extant oral history of the Zambian Pentecostal movement, which will help to preserve a foundation for future reflection. It is intended that the content and insights from this study will not only be valuable to Zambia and Africa, but to the wider global community seeking to understand the development of the Pentecostal-Charismatic phenomenon. The personal hope of the author is that the findings of this study will inspire other scholars into further research on the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement especially in Zambia.

1.6. Definitions

The key terms specific to this study are defined below:

I. *African Independent Churches (AICs) – The Prophetic and Pentecostal-type Churches*

The earliest attempts at classification of the indigenous Christian movements in Africa in general are based on their historical and political contexts. Anderson and other scholars argue for the recognition and inclusion of some expressions of African Independent Churches

(AICs) as African Pentecostal Churches (APCs) based on their shared historical and theological perspectives in common with those of classical Pentecostalism.[6] Kalu holds a slightly different view from Anderson. He argues for the acknowledgement of the differences in practices between these two major groups. Kalu maintains that "the impact of time and schisms on the character of African Independent Churches (AICs) and the insiders' self-perceptions must be taken into consideration."[7] Most of the AICs do not have observable links with classical Pentecostalism. The AICs include churches started in the early 20th century by African leaders who were reacting to what they perceived as cold formalism in the Protestant missionary churches. Turner claims that "these indigenous African leaders practices of healing, prayer and spiritual gifts are decidedly 'Pentecostal.'"[8]

The AICs are referred to in the literature by a variety of terms in different African regions. For instance, in Southern Africa, they are called Zionist and Apostolic, Zion-type and 'Spirit-type' churches. In Central Africa they include Kimbanguists and various prophet-led movements. In West Africa, they are 'spiritual,' 'prophet healing' and 'Aladura' (prayer) churches. In East Africa, they are 'Pentecostal' and 'spiritual churches.'[9] Most of these AICs prefer to be called 'churches of the Spirit.' In this study, they will simply be referred to as the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. In Zambia, like other Sub-Saharan nations, AICs tend to be regional in distribution, and only extend beyond their established regions when significant migration from them has occurred.

[6] See Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 13, 103-104 and Robert Mapes, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979), 4.
[7] Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 70.
[8]See Harold W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa* (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1979), 97.
[9] See Allan Anderson, "Stretching Out Hands to God: Origins and Development of Pentecostalism in Africa," in *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Post-Colonial Societies*, edited by Martin Lindhardt (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 54-74.

II. *Pentecostal*

Anderson claims that "although constructs by social scientists, religious studies scholars and theologians have evolved over the past decades, there is still a general agreement that three main types of Pentecostalism are well represented on the African continent.[10] Yet, even here, categorisation of the situation in Africa is still contested. For instance, some scholars have different and sometimes confusing terms and naming conventions when referring to Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians in Africa. Some scholars have used terminology such as 'Neo-Pentecostal,' Born-Again,' 'Evangelical,' 'Charismatic' and even 'Fundamentalists' to refer to Pentecostal Christians. As already noted, the umbrella term 'Pentecostal' is difficult to define as there are differing views on what constitutes 'true' Pentecostal doctrine and experience. For instance, Hodges claims that "Pentecostals are so called because they believe that the Holy Spirit will come to believers today as he came to the waiting disciples on the Day of Pentecost. They recognise the Holy Spirit as the divine Agent of the Deity in the earth, without whom God's work of redemption through Jesus Christ cannot be realised."[11] Here, Hodges places emphasis upon an expectancy resulting from a belief that God reproduces biblical patterns throughout history which he regards as a particular emphasis of Pentecostalism.

However, he does not refer to the controversial subject of the baptism in the Holy Spirit and initial evidence, but simply reinforces the Pentecostal-Charismatic belief in the necessity of greater engagement with the Holy Spirit in the life of individual Christians. Hollenweger offers a more specific definition in relation to the baptism of the Holy Spirit. He states that,

[10] See Anderson, *African Reformation*, 1.
[11] See Melvin L. Hodges, "A Pentecostal's View of Mission Strategy," in *Azusa Street and Beyond*, ed. Grant McClung (Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2006), 157.

"Most Pentecostals would say the distinguishing feature is the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the 'initial sign of speaking in tongues'."[12] Interestingly, Hollenweger uses the word 'most' in his definition and thereby, implies the complexity of this subject, and differences amongst some Pentecostals-Charismatics themselves. He then modifies his definition by identifying two main issues that were the focus of his study into the groups forming the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. Hollenweger states that "all the Pentecostal-Charismatic groups will profess at least two religious crisis experiences: 1.) baptism or rebirth; 2.) the baptism in the Holy Spirit), the second being after, and different from the first one, and the second usually, but not always, being associated with speaking in tongues."[13]

To its adherents, the Pentecostal movement claims to have roots in the New Testament teaching and practice. Thus, Bruner writes that "the ancestral line of the Pentecostal Movement could appear to stretch from the enthusiastic Corinthians (1 Cor. 12-14) or even the Old Testament anointed and ecstatic (for example, Num. 11; I Sam. 10)."[14] The claim that Pentecostals are achieving the restoration of 'Apostolic Christianity'[15] is largely based on a distinctive interpretation of the apostles' experiences in Acts 2, as Gee observes:

> The designation 'Pentecostal' arises from its emphasis upon a baptism in the Holy Spirit such as recorded in Acts 2 that occurred on the Day of Pentecost. The Pentecostal Movement shares with most sections of the Holiness movement, and some others in the Church, the conviction that such a baptism in the Holy Spirit remains as a separate individual experience possible for all Christians, irrespective of time or place (Acts 2:38-39).[16]

[12] See Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972), xix.
[13] Hollenweger, *Pentecostals*, xix.
[14] Uppercase his. Fredrick D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 35.
[15] William gives comprehensive support for the traditional Pentecostal view and especially emphasises the Acts model. See John R. Williams, *Renewal Theology: Systematic Theology from a Charismatic Perspective Three Volumes in One* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996) vol. 2, 181-321.
[16] Donald Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Croydon: AoG, 1967), 7.

Anderson is critical in his appraisal regarding African Pentecostalism, he notes that "the term 'Pentecostal' may refer to divergent African churches that stress the working of the Holy Spirit with ecstatic phenomena such as prophecy, speaking in tongues, divine healing and exorcism. Although not all these groups that claim to be Pentecostal should be considered 'Pentecostal.'"[17] The two self-identifying labels used to refer to Pentecostal Christians within Zambia, '*Ba Born-Again*'[18] and '*Ba Pente'* (short for Pentecostal), demonstrate a Zambian self-perception of membership within Pentecostal-Charismatic type groups, reflecting their understanding of at least some of the wider criteria used in recognising which churches are considered part of this category.

III. *Neo-Pentecostal Churches*

The term 'Neo-Pentecostal' is used in the reference works of leading scholars and writers, including David Barrett[19] and Stanley Burgess.[20] Various groups are included in this 'catch-all' category,[21] among which are listed an incredible variety of what are called 'indigenous Pentecostals.' Although not historical linked to Pentecostal churches involved in the outbreak of the Holy Spirit in the beginning of the 20th century, many subsequent revivals resulted in groups of Christians manifesting some 'Pentecostal characteristics' such as baptism in the

[17] See Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism,* 114-115.
[18] Maxwell notes that "the heartfelt emphasis by classical Pentecostals that salvation was through Jesus Christ was rooted in the Great Awakening of the mid-18th century, when it was referred to as the 'new birth.' Later in the 19th century, Evangelicals perpetuated the 'ideology and experience of new birth,' making it a non-negotiable marker of the Christian faith; this emphasis on salvation grew even stronger in the 20th century, with those who experienced personal transformation calling themselves 'Born-Again' Christians." See David Maxwell, *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the Rise of Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), 18-19.
[19] See David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian and Todd M. Johnson (eds), *World Christian Encyclopaedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World AD 1900-2000,* 2nd edn., 2 vols., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 329-330.
[20] See Stanley Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (eds), "Introduction," in *NIDCM* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), xvii-xxii.
[21] See Vinson Synan, *In the Latter Days*, rev. edn., (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant, 1991), 138.

Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues, and divine and spiritual healing. African Independent Churches (AICs) in Zambia tend principally to fall into this category. Neo-Pentecostal churches were founded by indigenous Zambians, but nevertheless, have links with Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in other nations, such as the USA, UK, Canada, Ghana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

In the literature, most newer Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches are commonly categorised as Neo-Pentecostal churches, or simply as Charismatic churches. As Chiyeka notes,

> Not all Christians, including Charismatics themselves, are familiar with the term 'Neo-Pentecostal.' Hence, much confusion exists as to what exactly the term refers to; and it is not surprising that Neo-Pentecostal churches in Zambia call themselves 'Pentecostal' and see themselves very much in continuity with the older traditions of the same name. In fact, the only Zambian Charismatic church with the adjective 'Charismatic' is the Calvary Charismatic Church in Lusaka.[22]

While 'neo' merely indicates that these churches are of relatively recent origin. It should, however, be noted that 'Neo-Pentecostal' is a fluid term that has been used in various ways over the past five decades, at one stage referring to older church Charismatics, then to the independent charismatic churches, next to the so-called 'Third Wave' churches especially those in North America, and more recently, to a wide range of newer independent Pentecostal-Charismatic churches that embrace contemporary culture, use contemporary methods of communication, media and marketing, form international networks or ministries, and often have a prosperity emphasis. This description arguably fits the largest of the new church groups in Africa. These are often regarded as 'Neo-Pentecostal' churches in the

[22] See Austin M. Chiyeka, "Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonial Zambia," in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia*, eds. Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 144-163.

literature, including 'mega' churches in African cities, which can be divided into two main categories (1) distinctive 'Word of Faith' churches and similar churches, formed since the late 1970s, where the emphasis is on the physical health and material prosperity by faith, and (2) a large and widespread grouping consisting of many different independent churches that vary considerably in character, and which are therefore difficult to categorise. In this study, Neo-Pentecostal Churches will refer to the latter independent and post-denominational churches that emerged in the late 1980s, 1990s and 2000s.

These churches were started mainly by indigenous Zambians and tend to revolve around an individual. They can range in membership from twenty to over five hundred. Most have a very strong mission emphasis, planting churches elsewhere. They cannot be classified as denominations, because of the authority and control vested in the hands of an individual who is seen as both the vision bearer and executor. The rest of members are perceived as 'called' by God to help the vision bearer to fulfil that God-given vision.

IV. *Pentecostalism*

Pentecostalism is as complex in Africa as it is in both Asia and Latin America.[23] Holmes asserts that "as a movement of the Holy Spirit, Pentecostalism has generally assumed the status of a global phenomenon, with various local manifestations."[24] In the light of Holmes' assertion, it is not surprising that there are divergent responses to the Pentecostal-Charismatic

[23] See Chad M. Bauman, *Pentecostals, Proselytization and Anti-Christian Violence in Contemporary India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 24-28.
[24] Holmes explains that "Pentecostalism is global, exploratory, holistic and Christ-centred." For more on these elements of Pentecostal 'DNA,' see Arthur F. Holmes' descriptions of the main four elements of a Christian worldview in *The Idea of a Christian College* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 57-60.

phenomenon within different socio-religious contexts and cultures. This has given rise to several correspondingly varied and divergent species of churches, ministries and movements that respond to the designation 'Pentecostal-Charismatic movement.' Bauman claims that "commonly accepted is the notion that the 'terms' and 'designations' associated with Pentecostalism have come to mean different things in different contexts."[25] Furthermore, Anderson argues that "the spread, diversity and varied nature of Pentecostal-Charismatic movements globally make attempts at achieving rigid classification very difficult."[26]

A prominent perspective is that of *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, which identifies as 'Pentecostal' the so-called classical Pentecostals connected with the revival at the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles (1906-1909), the members of the so-called charismatic movements in the established Roman Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox churches that surfaced in North America during the 1960s; and the so called neo-charismatic groups as

> A catch-all category that comprises 18,810 independent, indigenous, post-denominational denominations and groups that cannot be classified as either classical Pentecostal or charismatic, [but] share a common emphasis on the Holy Spirit, spiritual gifts, Pentecostal-like experiences, … signs and wonders, and power encounters.[27]

Barrett describes Pentecostalism as:

> A Christian confession or ecclesiastical tradition holding the distinctive teaching that all Christians should seek a post-conversion religious experience called the baptism with the Holy Spirit and that a Spirit-baptised believer may receive one or more of the supernatural gifts known in the early church: instantaneous sanctification, the

[25] Bauman, Pentecostals, *Proselytization and Anti-Christian Violence*, 30-41.
[26] Anderson claims that "Pentecostal-Charismatic churches are highly diverse, which makes it very difficult to provide a definitive list of Pentecostal-Charismatic ideas." See Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism,* 1.
[27] Stanly M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas (eds), in *NIDPCM*, rev. and exp. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), xx.

> ability to prophesy, practice divine healing, speak in tongues, glossolalia, and interpret tongues.[28]

The groups that are included within the rubric of Pentecostalism will depend on which definition is adopted. In the African context, Asamoah-Gyadu expresses his cynicism towards writers that see African Pentecostalism as mere 'clones, consumers and imitators of western innovations'[29] and Kalu discourages the view that African Pentecostalism is 'a product of Azusa or an extension of the American electronic church.'[30] These scholars advocate for a rather broader definition that is inclusive of the various cultural contexts of African Christianity.[31] Sepúlveda finds that Pentecostalism has the ability to 'incarnate' the Gospel in different cultural forms.[32] Pentecostalism has indeed continued to renew and reinvigorate itself in countless new forms of expression.

In seeking a working definition for Pentecostalism, one needs to acknowledge that this may ultimately prove elusive, and dependant on a paradigm employed by the individual attempting to make it. Pentecostalism in the Zambian context includes the older and newer churches formed by indigenous Zambians as well as mission-related churches, such as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Zambia (PAOGZ). For purposes of this study, the Pentecostal-Charismatic delineation will be used in an all-embracing category to include Prophetic and Pentecostal-type believers, Classical Pentecostals and Neo-Pentecostals, the only difference being that Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia would tend to be churches

[28] See David Barrett et. al., *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 669.
[29] See Johnson Asamoah-Gyandu, "Renewal within African Christianity: A Study of Some Current Historical and Theological Development within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana," (PhD Thesis, The University of Birmingham, UK, 2000), 25.
[30] Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, preface, viii.
[31] Gyadu, *Renewal within African Christianity*, 16.
[32] See Juan Sepúlveda, "To Overcome the Fear of Syncretism: A Latin American Perspective," in *Mission Matters*, edited by L. Price, J. Sepúlveda and G. Smith (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 133.

that broke away from the Mainstream Protestant Churches, such as the Bread of Life Church, which split from the Baptist Church. Within the Zambian context, 'Pentecostalism' includes the newer churches formed by indigenous Zambians. Pentecostalism is in many ways a perplexing and evolving complex. Most definitions of Pentecostalism attempt to distinguish groupings within the movement on historical, sociological, geographical and confessional lines.[33] Pentecostalism will be taken to refer in a broad sense to the complex diversity of classical Pentecostal churches, the charismatic movement, and Pentecostal or 'Pentecostal like' independent churches.[34] Contemporary Pentecostalism has multiple discourses: its business culture, its fascination with the electronic media, its fixation with the accumulation and retention of commodities, all of which shape lives as fundamentally as Scripture itself, but as Martin highlights, what particularly animates Pentecostalism is the 'free and democratic availability of gifts of the Spirit.'[35]

V. *Full Gospel*

The most consistent theological narrative emerging from the history of global Pentecostalism is the so-called 'Full Gospel.' According to the Pentecostal understanding of 'Full Gospel,' Jesus Christ is the Saviour, the Healer, the Baptiser in the Holy Spirit and the soon Coming King. The 'Foursquare' pattern of this narrative represents an inclusive framework used to explore the central dimensions of Pentecostal thought and praxis. The origins of the 'Foursquare' pattern – or 'Fivefold'[36] when including sanctification – reaches back into early

[33] Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 13-14.
[34] As described, for example, in Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments* Worldwide (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 1.
[35] See David Martin, *Forbidden Revolutions: Pentecostalism in Latin America and Catholicism in Eastern Europe* (London: SPCK, 1996), 10-11.
[36] The fivefold pattern proclaims, usually in kerygmatic form, the good news that Jesus Christ brings salvation, sanctification, baptism in the Holy Spirit, divine healing and the impending arrival of God's kingdom. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 21-23.

Pentecostal history, with the application of this 'Full Gospel' motif traced throughout recent Pentecostal scholarship.[37] Land notes that "despite the variation between 'Foursquare' and 'Fivefold' patterns, the terms are firmly embedded in the Pentecostal-Charismatic psyche, and the 'Fivefold' rubric is affirmed by mostly the Pentecostal Holiness groups."[38] Indeed, the framework used most consistently for narrating the set of Pentecostal experiences emerging on the ground is the 'Full Gospel,' which arose historically as the 'Foursquare' or 'Fivefold' pattern borrowed from the Wesleyan Holiness tradition.[39]

The 'Full Gospel' has endured through the short history of modern-day Pentecostalism as a comprehensive blueprint for expressing Pentecostal spirituality and giving theological articulation to the movement.[40] As Yong notes, "the 'Full Gospel' was encapsulated within the symbol of the baptism in the Holy Spirit that set Pentecostals apart, since the baptism in the Spirit was the sign that the end was near, and was the means of empowering the believer for the mission of proclaiming salvation in Jesus Christ, as well as ministering divine healing."[41]

Nienkirchen writes that:

> The preaching of 'Christ-centred Gospel' and practise of the 'Foursquare Gospel' of Jesus Christ as Saviour, Healer, Baptiser in the Holy Spirit and the Coming King has historically been in place in the Christian Missionary Alliance which was founded by Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919). Simpson coined the motto: 'Fourfold Gospel' in 1890 to summarise the Alliance's essential message of Jesus Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King. It was enshrined in his hymn, 'Jesus only is our message,' and was included in many Pentecostal hymns. James Bradley

[37] See Wolfgang Vondey, "Pentecostal Ecclesiology and Eucharistic Hospitality: Toward a Systematic and Ecumenical Account of the Church," *PNEUMA*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2010): 41-55.
[38] See Steven J. Land, Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom, *JPTS 1* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993): 80-102.
[39] For the history of development, see Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 15-33.
[40] See Mark J. Cartledge, *Encountering the Spirit: The Charismatic Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2006), 19-32.
[41] See Amos Young, "'Tongues of Fire' in the Pentecostal Imagination: The Truth of Glossolalia in Light of R. C. Neville's Theory of Religious Symbols," *JPT*," vol. 12 (1998): 39-65.

> demonstrated that the Pentecostal evangelist, Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944) 'borrowed' and adopted the motto in 1922 for the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, despite her claim to have received it by divine revelation.[42]

Vondey argues that "the goal of the 'Full Gospel,' in the first place, is to preserve the availability of the experiences of Pentecost, the validity of those experiences, and their perpetuation."[43] The order and content of the 'Full Gospel' narrative is not strictly defined. It varies historically and geographically, since the pattern is not the result of systematic theological reflection, nor through received interpretation of Scripture, but functions as a descriptive mechanism of Pentecostal spirituality shaped by a range of personal and communal experiences (that often contrast with the existing theologies and interpretations in and outside of the movement).[44] Some Pentecostals adjust the historical pattern and combine or include other themes to speak of a 'Fullness' of the gospel.[45]

Others may not readily use the phrase 'Full Gospel' or its relatives to identify their theology even though the elements of the 'Full Gospel' are clearly seen. Pentecostal groups employ the elements of the full gospel 'in creative and not always in a constant way.'[46] Therefore, the 'Full Gospel' cannot be understood in a reductionist fashion as a definitive creedal formula for the content of Pentecostal spirituality and experience, because in practice it is frequently based on a passionate desire, as Kärkäinen puts it, to 'meet with Jesus Christ as he is being perceived of as a Bearer of the 'Full Gospel.'[47]

---

[42] See Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992), 32-37.
[43] Vondey, *Pentecostal Theology*, 21-22.
[44] See John C. Thomas, "Pentecostal Theology in the Twenty-First Century," *PNEUMA*, vo. 20, no. 1 (1998): 3-19.
[45] See David Yong-gi Cho, *The Five-Fold Gospel and the Three-fold Blessing* (Seoul: Logos Co., 1997).
[46] Veli-Matti Kärkäinen, "'Encountering Christ in the Full Gospel Way': An Incarnational Pentecostal Spirituality, *JEPTA*, vo. 27, no. 1 (2007):5-19.
[47] Kärkäinen, *Encountering Christ in the Full Gospel Way*, 7.

VI. Social Pentecostalism

Although 'Social Pentecostalism' is not a familiar term in Zambia, Pentecostalism is frequently understood as being social. Even at a simplistic level, no one can be 'Pentecostal' without belonging to the 'society' of the Pentecostal church. The expression 'Social Pentecostalism' moves beyond the church doors to draw attention to a form or aspect of Pentecostalism that is concerned with the welfare of society at large, that is, of human beings in their socio-political relations.[48] In this study, the expression 'Social Pentecostalism' is intended to be even more specific, referring to a trend in Pentecostalism that appeared in the 1990s.

Pentecostalism has always been social in the sense of articulating doctrine about its members' social nature and their socio-political obligations, for instance, concerning the family, civil government, relations of Church and State, and the duty of compassion for the poor. In a technical sense, as used in this study, Social Pentecostalism relates to the consequences of the socio-political changes that took place in the 1990s. Christian social activism involves undertaking intentional actions to change the world, challenging conditions that adversely affect lifestyles. Most commonly, such actions seek to bring about social, political, economic, environmental, and spiritual change.[49] The expression 'Social Pentecostalism' here designates those individuals and groups in Pentecostalism that became aware of the 1990s socio-political changes, that were motivated by introduction of multi-party democracy that

[48] See Wolfgang Vondey, *Pentecostalism: A Guide for the Perplexed*, (London and New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013), 90-91.
[49] See Nigel Pimlott, *Social Activism: A Youth Worker's Guide to Activism and Discipleship* (Cambridge: Grove Books Limited, 2017), 6.

refused to sit under the doctrine of laissez faire, and that determined to do more to ameliorate the consequences of President Chiluba's constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation.' Amid all its varied manifestations, Social Pentecostalism presents the belief that it is both feasible and a matter of moral obligation to improve socio-political mechanisms in society.

1.7. Research Period

This study assumes that the period from the 1940s to the present forms a distinct phase in Zambia's religious history of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. One reason for choosing to research a period stretching over seven decades (1940s to 2010s) is to identify longitudinal patterns in the growth of Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Zambia. To recognise these patterns, reliable data over an extended period is necessary.

1.8. The Research Limitations

The task is formidable and ambitious, considering the broad duration this study covers (1940s to the present). Moreover, the focus on this period does not exclude the introduction of events outside these dates, as is deemed necessary. Given the eras covered, there is a danger of superficiality and simplification. To minimise such a risk, and make this a useful resource, the attention will mainly focus on historical and theological aspects of the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. The Pentecostal-Charismatic movement will be explored in relation to both Catholic and Protestant Christianity. Some of the historical conditions of the prevalent African and global Pentecostalism of the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries will be incorporated, where necessary to uncover, examine, evaluate, assess and

analyse the emergence and growth of Pentecostalism in Zambia. The temptation to attempt a comprehensive history of all local Pentecostal-Charismatic denominations and ministries that form part of the Zambian Pentecostal history is resisted. Many local Pentecostal-Charismatic churches, ministries and their leaders are acknowledged to have made their own unique contribution to the growth of Pentecostalism in Zambia, but space does not permit these participants to be covered. Following the normal practice of doctoral studies, field work research was limited to what was manageable to a single researcher working alone. Hence, the field research work was carried out in the following provinces of Zambia: Lusaka, the Eastern, Central, Northern Provinces and the Copperbelt.

1.9. Bibliography

During September 2013 to June 2016, I conducted interviews with several members and leaders from the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type, Classical Pentecostal, and Neo-Pentecostal churches in Zambia. This study is based primarily on the analysis of these oral sources, using quotes from the interviews to inform the discussion. In addition to oral sources, a variety of secondary resources, including newspaper articles, articles on Zambian news websites were utilised. These materials were selected to provide a snapshot of both popular and formal religious discourses on Pentecostalism in Zambia. In other words, the first category of the bibliography consists of oral sources. The second consists of biblical, theological and historical references to the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement and broader Zambian Christianity. The third category of the bibliography consists of books, reports, newspaper articles, and reports for general reference.

1.10. Scope and Structure of this Study

The dissertation is divided into three parts, comprising eight chapters. Part one is historical and genealogical, providing historical perspectives on the emergence, evolution and development the three traditions of Pentecostalism in Zambia. Part two is theological, identifying and discussing Zambian Pentecostalism's theologies and practices and offering theological reflection on Zambian Social Pentecostalism and the Prosperity Gospel.

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter one is the introductory chapter currently being read, outlining the thesis statement, aims of this study and how these aims will be pursued, the suppositions of this study, the gap in knowledge to be bridged, the contribution to scholarship, key phrases, the research period covered, research limitations, explanation about the bibliographical material, and the scope and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter two is a literature review chapter exploring general Pentecostal-Charismatic studies and theology, as well as Zambian Pentecostal history. Gaps in historical and theological knowledge in the literature pertaining to Zambian Pentecostalism are identified, and contributions to be made in filling the gaps are discussed.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Chapter three is a methodological chapter which discusses and defends the research procedures and methodologies that have been formulated for this study, as well as the robustness of methods for data collection. It explains the research processes that the study underwent and highlights how the methods employed in this study functioned theoretically and practically. Reflection is made on whether ethical standards for research were

successfully attained. The reasons for interviewees being selected for study were examined contextually.

Chapter Four

This chapter gives a brief history of mainstream Protestant churches, the Roman Catholic church, and independent churches in Zambia.

Chapter Five

Chapter five commences by explaining the early developments that set the stage for the emergence of Pentecostalism in Zambia. The discussion moves on to the formation of its Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, the Classical Pentecostal Churches and Neo-Pentecostal Churches. Key figures in the development of Zambian Pentecostalism are also identified, and the main factors that furthered the growth of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches are assessed.

Chapter Six

Chapter six commences by giving a summary of the general Zambian Pentecostal hermeneutics in Zambian Pentecostalism and then discusses the theologies and practices of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, the Classical Pentecostal Churches and Neo-Pentecostal Churches.

Chapter Seven

This chapter discusses how Social Pentecostalism and the Prosperity Gospel were introduced in Zambia. It offers some theological reflection on both Social Pentecostalism and the Prosperity Gospel and offers hints on how these two theologies can be improved.

Chapter Eight

This chapter summarises the main findings of this study and suggests further areas of research on the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement that have yet to be explored.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature relating specifically to the establishment of early independent African churches in Zambia. Section 2.1 will cover material relating to the emergence of classical and Neo-Pentecostal churches. Section 2.2 will examine material on the general theologies of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches. Section 2.3 will conclude the assessment.

2.1. A Review of Literature on Independent Churches in Zambia

Although African Independent Churches (AICs) have an interesting history, publications on the AICs in Zambia are still very limited. It is not surprising therefore, that Lumbe bemoans a lack of adequate scholarly written records on the general history of these churches in Zambia.[50] Fisher's article on '*Religious Conversion in Black Africa,*'[51] Henkel's article '*Christian Missions in Africa,*'[52] Marwick's article '*Another Modern Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa,*'[53] Gordon's article '*The UNIP-Lumpa Conflict Revisited,*'[54] Dillion-Malone's article '*The Mutumwa Church of Peter Mulenga*'[55] and

[50] Lumbe notes that "the irony of writing about the history of Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia is, sadly, that the nation's lack of documentation on Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity is currently lacking. Therefore, Pentecostals-Charismatics need to take themselves seriously by taking up historical scientific documentation and self-analysis of Pentecostalism." See John M. K. Lumbe, Origins and Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movements in Zambia Between 1989 and 2000 (PhD diss., University of South Africa, 2008), 6-7.
[51] Robin H. Fisher, "Conversion Reconsidered: Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black Africa," in *African Conversion,* ed. Brendan Carmody (Ndola: Mission Press, 2001), 32-33.
[52] Ralf Henkel, *Christian Mission in Africa: A Social Geographical Study of their Activities in Zambia* (Berlin: Dietrich Reiner Verlag, 1989), 23-39.
[53] Max G. Marwick, "Another Modern Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa," *Africa,* vol. 20, no. 2 (1950): 100-112.
[54] David M. Gordon, "The UNIP-Lumpa Conflict Revisited," in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia,* edited by J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 45-76.
[55] Clive Dillion-Malone, "The Mutumwa Church of Peter Mulenga," *JRA,* vol. 17, no. 1 (1987): 2-31.

Mutenda's article A '*History of the Christian Brethren in Zambia*'[56] have revealed some features of the independent churches in Zambia. However, these studies have not fully covered the historical and theological aspects of the AICs, especially the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. More sustained scholarly involvement in the study of the AICs in Zambia has been undertaken by Mildnerová,[57] who notes that the African Independent Churches in Zambia started particularly in urban settings, and quickly became part of the strengthening Prophetic and Charismatic movement particularly within Mainstream Protestant Churches. He observes that a typical feature of the Zambian AICs was their focus on spiritual healing and religious syncretism; whereby, the local traditional customs and beliefs in dangerous ghosts, ancestral spirits or witches were placed within the biblical religious framework where the Holy Spirit (*Muzimu Oyela*) was the only source of healing. Mildnerová notes that the AICs in Zambia managed to flourish where Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches failed, because independent churches did not reject certain practices, and to some degree, did not adapt to a western styled ecclesiology.

Based on the perspectives of Mildnerová,[58] European missionaries in Zambia were influenced by western Christian ideals, the importance of which they clearly overestimated. The lack of enculturation and contextualisation of European missionaries led to early Zambian Prophetic figures, such as Alice Lenshina, with their critical minds and charismatic talents, to start the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches which mushroomed mainly in the 1940s. Founders of these Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches viewed Protestant and

[56] Kovina L. K. Mutenda, *A History of the Christian Brethren (Christian Mission in Many Lands – CMML) in Zambia: One Hundred Years of God's Faithfulness and Partnership in the Gospel, 1898-1998* (Chingola: Christian Resource Centre, 2002), 8.
[57] Kateřina Mildnerová, "African Independent Churches in Zambia (Lusaka)," *Ethnological Actualis*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2014): 1-18.
[58] Ibid, 1-18.

Mainstream Mission Churches[59] as unconcerned about the complex issues of being the 'real' church. This could be viewed as a culture clash, a failure to sensitively consider Zambians felt spiritual needs. In so far as such scholars have attempted to advance explanations for the inception of independent churches, in practice they have made minimal attempts at reaching a sufficient depth to properly explore this history. Their work has yet to capture the multi-faceted and rather complex historical factors which animated the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' emerging in Zambia.

2.2. A Review of Literature on Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches in Zambia

Pentecostalism is regarded as the fastest growing stream of Christian churches in Zambia. It is not surprising that since the early 1990s, when Zambia was declared a 'Christian Nation' by President Chiluba, it has become the focal point for research and publications. Individuals from various areas of study, including disciplines such as sociologists, anthropologists, social scientists, theologians, political scientists and journalists have shown an interest in the phenomenal growth of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches. Many writers and scholars have researched and written on various aspects of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches. For instance, in his volume, '*African Christianity: Its Public Role*,'[60] Gifford has assessed the growth of Pentecostal-Charismatic movements in several Sub-Saharan African nations. However, in comparative terms, the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement has not been well represented. Although Gifford's work is informative and detailed, it is informed largely by secondary sources. Thus, the study has overlooked the local historical

[59] The Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches refers to the Non-Pentecostal-Charismatic churches such as the Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ), United Church in Zambia (UCZ) and the African Methodist Church (AMC) in the mainstream of traditional Christianity in Zambia. As expected from their names, these churches do not subscribe to the Roman Catholic faith and are not part of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia (RCCZ).
[60] See Paul *Gifford, African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: C. Hurt and Company, 1998).

roots of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. In his study on Evangelicals in Politics in Africa, Freston[61] has given a brief historical account of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity during Kenneth David Kaunda, the first Zambian Republican President's time in office (1964-1991), as well as the period when of Frederick Chiluba, the second Republican President was head of state (1991-2001). Freston has attempted to give a detailed explanation of the role played by Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians both in electing and ousting President Kaunda, as well as in stopping President Chiluba's third term bid for Republican presidency. Freston's study has drawn it conclusions based mainly on Gifford's work,[62] which had broadly examined the implications of Pentecostalism in Zambia's public and private spheres.

In his master's thesis,[63] Cheyeka argued that President Frederick Chiluba's constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' has helped to further the growth of Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Zambia. Phiri in her article titled 'President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia,' has argued that Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians have fostered democracy in Zambia; and the declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' has served as a catalyst for more energetic and extensive Evangelical political engagement.[64] Nearly all these studies by Gifford, Freston, Cheyeka and Phiri have taken the President Chiluba's 1991 constitutional 'Christian Nation' declaration as the 'main principal' of the proliferation of Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia.

[61] See Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 154-165.
[62] See Paul Gifford, "Chiluba's Christian Nation: Christianity as a Factor in Zambian Politics 1991-1996," *JCR,* vol. 13, no. 3 (1998): 363-381.
[63] See Austin M. Cheyeka, "Proclamation of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' by President Frederick Chiluba," MA Thesis (University of Birmingham, UK, 1995).
[64] Isabel A. Phiri, "President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia: The 'Christian Nation' and Democracy," *JRA,* vol. 33, no. 4 (2003): 401-428.

Although these scholars and writers have also attempted to advance explanations for Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic revival, again insufficient progress has been made gaining any historical depth. Research on how the rhetoric of the 'Christian Nation' declaration has shaped the Pentecostal-Charismatic political discourses in Zambia, have not sought in-depth insights into the religious rationales informing these discourses, despite their clear relevance to the Zambian context. Burgess, a Pentecostal scholar, has produced an article entitled, '*Pentecostals and Politics in Nigeria and Zambia*,'[65] in which he reveals that Pentecostalism emerged initially among Zambia's white elite miners in the suburbs rather than among the poor. He further informs that from the early 1950s, several Pentecostal missions entered the country. Likewise, both Lumba and Gerrard's studies[66] follow suit, stating that classical Pentecostalism emerged initially among Zambia's White elite miners in the suburbs rather than among the poor; and that from the early 1950s, several international Pentecostal missions entered the country. The most prominent was the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (now the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Zambia), which arrived in 1955 at the invitation of a White expatriate family.

Henkel's book shows that a few Protestant mission churches such as the Lutheran Church of Central Africa, Apostolic Faith Mission and Pentecostal Assemblies of God arrived in Zambia in the 1950s and 1960s.[67] Although Burgess, Gerrard, Lumbe and Henkel's articles give interesting perspectives on classical Pentecostalism in Zambia, their findings have not helped to identify and clarify some of the historical connections between the

[65] See Richard Burgess, "Pentecostals and Politics in Nigeria and Zambia: An Historical Perspective," in *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Post-Colonial Societies*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 291-321.
[66] See David J. Garrard, "Zimbabwe and Zambia," in *NIDPCM*, eds. Stanley Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), 1225-1229.
[67] See Reinhard Henkel, *Christian Missions in Africa* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimar Verlag, 1989), 39-40.

Pentecostalisation of Christianity in Zambia and the later 1950s localised Pentecostal-Charismatic revival. Among the studies written with a more favourable approach to the movement's development and growth is an article entitled, '*Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonia Zambia,*'[68] by Cheyeka. The article discusses the development of the Charismatic movement in Zambia from the 1970s to 2000s. Although an attempt has been made to offer a historically informed analysis of the Charismatic movement and churches in Zambia, the article does not present a comprehensive picture of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia. Essentially, what the article has tried to do is simply to historicise the 'Born-again' discourse in the nation of Zambia. The Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement is explained in the article as having gone through four distinctive phases. The article also seeks to reveal that between 1960 and 1970, the definitive foundation for the Charismatic movement in Zambia was laid by the Scripture Union (SU).

Cheyeka's claims in his article are erroneous in presuming that the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement is a recent phenomenon dating back to 1960s, whose foundation was strengthened by the visit of an American evangelist Billy Graham in 1967, who is portrayed as the 'giant' of Zambian Pentecostalism. The understanding that Pentecostalism essentially emerged in 1967, bolstered in numbers after Graham's Seven-Days Gospel Campaign in Kitwe where an estimated 28,000 people were converted to Pentecostalism is rather problematic. Although Cheyeka's article is an interesting contrast primarily because of its positive perspectives on Pentecostalism in Zambia, his findings have once again failed to bring the discussion forward any further toward identifying and clarifying the historical

[68] See Austin M. Cheyeka, "Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Zambia," in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonia Zambia*, edited by Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 144-163.

connections between pre-1970s movements and later Pentecostal-Charismatic revivals. Nevertheless, in breaking down the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement of Zambia in various eras, Cheyeka has succeeded in isolating and compartmentalising various Pentecostal moves of the Holy Spirit. In doing so, he has shown that these moves have been part of a continuous process, each carried forward from the previous moves. In other words, Cheyeka has demonstrated that in each developmental phase or era, an element of the manifestation of the Holy Spirit was more pronounced than the others.

2.3. A Review of Literature on Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Theologies

The question of Zambian Pentecostal theology has been scantly treated. The material that does exist gives a rough idea on some aspects of some groups Pentecostal-Charismatic doctrinal beliefs. The published account which best matches the subject under investigation has been composed by Lumbe, who presents an insightful introduction to the movement's inception, beliefs and practices, as well as its social engagement. He has attempted to present an all-inclusive account of significant events in the development of Pentecostalism in Zambia. However, Lumbe's sources are limited to his own personal knowledge and that of other researchers. Lumbe does not give a detailed analysis of the basic beliefs of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches. Nevertheless, he has laid a foundation on which further research can be built. Another source that discusses various aspects of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic theologies is the research of M'fundisi[69] which is a detailed account of the nature of Pentecostals and Charismatic believers' beliefs and practices, experiences, affecting their influence on personal and social transformation, and their impact on civic culture and

[69] See Naar M'fundisi, Pentecostal and Charismatic Spiritualities and Civic Engagement in Zambia (1964-2012), PhD Thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham, UK (December 2014).

economic growth in different national contexts and congregational settings. In her doctoral thesis, M'fundisi reveals an interesting gradual shift in Pentecostal-Charismatic spiritual focus in comparison to earlier forms of their beliefs, which emphasised the urgency of proselytising in preparation for the imminent return of Christ. M'fundisi highlights the relationship between religion and society, and ways in which Pentecostal and Charismatic beliefs and practices have had an impact on civic issues and vice versa. In her thesis, M'fundisi contends that the arrival of Pentecostalism in Zambia helped restore a spiritual connection (a worldview that is innately African) that was downtrodden by missionaries; and that this connection was not a spiritual connection that engaged ancestral worship and the veneration of ancient spirits, but rather, a connection to the Spirit of God. She states that Pentecostal growth benefited greatly from religious plurality, as some of its members had prior links to mainline churches. Hence, this led to the development of Charismatic churches in the 1980s. Although Lumbe and M'fundisi's writings may be considered as major academic reference material on the subject of the nation's Pentecostal-Charismatic doctrinal beliefs, their findings do not fully identify and clarify some significant aspects of the theologies of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches. What Lumbe and M'fundisi have done is simply to introduce some of the Zambian Pentecostal movement's history of inception and highlight certain aspects of its beliefs and practices.

The focus of Lumbe and M'fundisi's otherwise key research has been on selected Pentecostal spiritualities, without focussing on various aspects of the broader picture, nor engaging in academic theological reflection on the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches' ethos. Although the literature provides an overview of theologies of Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, questions are not asked that could provide answers to several overlooked

theological and doctrinal issues. It is the intention of this present study to explore these uncertainties with the intent of filling a gap in the research.

2.4. Chapter Conclusion

This brief review of available literature on Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Christian history that has emerged over the past decades, reveals a considerable lack of important historical data on the emergence, growth, evolution, ethos, spirituality and sociological insights into the Zambian Pentecostal Movement. Most existing research work can be deemed as historically flawed, for its understanding of the movements basis mainly in the later periods of the its emergence, while neglecting the earliest years of its inception. Whilst no claims can be made of empirical or analytical completeness, these available works on general Zambian Pentecostal history will be used as part of the framework for subtler and more coherent syntheses which this study aims to achieve. This overall paucity of published and unpublished works which are directly or indirectly related to the Pentecostal-Charismatic history in Zambia will be to a large extent compensated by analysis of oral testimony gathered by the author of this thesis between 2013 and 2015 during interviews held with early witnesses and key figures in the movement. The data will provide valuable insight into Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity as utilised throughout this thesis, analysed in parallel with existing literature on Zambian Christianity, as well as other standard reference material covering various aspects of the global Pentecostal phenomenon. Before the content of the orally transmitted historical data uncovered by this research can be explored, the next chapter will present and defend the data collection methodology used to extract it.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

The previous chapter which reviewed the literature relating to the establishment of early independent African churches in Zambia, the emergence of classical and Neo-Pentecostal churches and their distinctive theologies, has been found wanting in ways that call into question the effectiveness of their research methodologies, or lack of them.

This chapter discusses and defends the research methodology that has been developed for this study, including the methodology devised to ensure that the collection of data for the thesis has been robust. The chapter also highlights how the methods employed in this study function theoretically and practically. Ethical reflections focus on the way in which the desired research standards were attained. Contextual considerations concentrate on the rationale for the selection of interviewees. The chapter is divided into six sections. The first section 3.1 gives the rationale for selecting Zambia as the research location. Section 3.2 outlines the research process, explaining how the data collection method – the oral interviews – were conducted during initial and theoretical sampling phases. The limitations of data collection methods that this study utilised are also highlighted. Section 3.3 explains the methods that were used in the data analysis necessary for this study. Section 3.4 provides the rationale behind the methodology used in this study, supporting its credibility. Section 3.5 reflects on the ethical considerations involved in collecting data and focuses on how the necessary research standards were attained. Section 3.6 is the conclusion of the chapter.

3.1. Research Location

There is a pressing need for the continued identification of both primary and secondary resource material and the historical works written from an African perspective to document the emergence and growth of Pentecostalism in various African countries in their contexts. Over three decades ago in 1983, Spittler suggested areas of further research in Pentecostal-Charismatic studies, drawing attention to the fact that "more regional histories of Pentecostalism are necessary, particularly of the Third World countries."[70] In spite of continued effervescence of Pentecostalism in many Sub-Saharan African nations,[71] little research has been conducted so far on Pentecostalism in Zambia. Unsurprisingly then Zambia, and specifically its Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, provides the context for the choice of this study.

As far as this study is aware, as described in the literature review of the previous chapter, there are currently very few antecedents of scholarly research in the areas of historical and theological studies on Zambian Pentecostalism. Although the field of African Pentecostal-Charismatic studies is wide open for scholarly research, it presents some difficulties in locating reliable data on early Zambian Pentecostalism, because as has been seen, most studies have largely concentrated on the history of Pentecostalism from the 1990s when Pentecostalism gained more attention. Zambia is also a highly significant location to conduct research of this nature, because Zambian Pentecostalism has become a diffuse movement of

[70] Russell P. Spittler, "Suggested Areas for Further Research in Pentecostal Studies," *PNEUMA*, vol. 5 (Fall 1983): 39-57.

[71] For example, many historians and sociologists such as Donal E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, Eldin Villafane, Ogbu Kalu, Amos Yong, David Martin, Paul Gifford, Paul Freston, Jeff Hynes, Terrence O. Ranger and Allan Anderson have written about Pentecostalism in several African nations where the movement is larger and more vibrant. Unfortunately, very few scholars have engaged with different histories surrounding the various expressions of Pentecostalism in Zambia.

national proportions that requires scholarly investigation to ascertain its ethos, distinctive characteristics and more localised expressions. Zambia remains in pursuit of tangible comprehensive scholarly written works that can help Zambians and the onlooking world define the history of the Pentecostal movement in the nation.

3.2. Research Process

This is study is framed as a piece of oral history and based on in-depth oral interviews with one hundred and fifteen people of various ages and genders, but mainly selecting participants in their mid-70s and late 80s. The one hundred and fifteen interviewees are members of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type Churches, Classical Pentecostal Churches and Neo-Pentecostal Churches of Zambia. Owing to unprecedented access being granted for oral interviews with those who have played key roles in shaping Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in Zambia, a non-probability (purposive) sampling approach was used in selecting the initial sample. Purposive sampling was definitive, in that it was the basis for selecting samples from the research population. According to Descombe, "purposive sampling operates on the basic principle that we can get information through focusing on a relatively small number of instances deliberately selected based on their knowledge attributes. Hence, with purposive sampling, the sample is 'hand-picked' for the research study based on relevance on the issue being investigated and knowledge or experience about the topic."[72] Initial contact with the one hundred and twenty interviewees was made through correspondence and by telephone calls seeking individuals who are knowledgeable on Zambian Pentecostalism. Out of the one hundred and twenty potential interviewees, a total of

[72] Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Mixed Methods Research*, (Maidenhead, Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education/Open University Press, 2010), 141.

one hundred and fifteen agreed to be interviewed. Those who agreed to participate in the research were observably the most self-assured and articulate. These one hundred and fifteen individuals were each clearly prepared to devote their time to be interviewed, came across as comfortable with the situation, and were sufficiently motivated by the nature of the research study itself. The research interviews were conducted between September 2013 and July 2016. The main location of field research was in the Lusaka province, and the Central, Copperbelt, Northern and Eastern provinces. The demographic profile of the interviewees included as already mentioned the Classical Pentecostal, Charismatic, and prophetic streams. In terms of gender, interviewees comprised sixty percent male and forty percent females, reflecting a degree of gender balance among the participants. Interviewees were selected based on their Pentecostal-Charismatic experience and knowledge about the subject of this study. Each of the one hundred and fifteen interviews were conducted with the researcher and carried out individually to maintain manageability within personal research timeframes and in a way conducive to Zambia's social and economic environment. The final figure of one hundred and fifteen participants was optimal for this type of research.

The research was largely qualitative. Sidhu writes that "qualitative studies are those studies which require the description of observations expressed in non-quantitative terms."[73] However, this does not necessarily entail that numerical measures are never used, but rather other means of description are emphasised. It should be noted that descriptive studies are not merely confined to fact finding initiatives; they may consequently serve as an evidential framework for important knowledge-based principles, as well as for solutions to important problems. Since there is very little available documentation on the history of Pentecostalism

[73] See Kalyanaraman S. Sidhu, *Methodology of Research in Education* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Ltd, 1984), 32.

in Zambia, the descriptive study design methodology of collecting data by oral interviews, serves well the objectives of gaining significant historical insight.[74]

(a) Oral Interviews and Linguistic Considerations

Culturally, Zambians do not engage in writing and for many years, most historical information has been passed down orally. Thus, the main source of historical data is oral history[75] which is collected through interviews. Interview questions were constructed in advance in a simple style such as to elicit spontaneous and detailed information from the interviewees. Creswell argues that "the researcher's task revolves round looking at the larger structure to explain the interviewee's meanings of, social interactions, cultural issues, ideologies, historical contexts and interpretation of life experiences."[76] With this in mind, over ninety percent of interviews occurred in the context of the interviewees' homes. Exchanges were subsequently positive and friendly. The interviewees spoke freely, often about intimate concerns, thoughts and feelings. Being able to interact in some of the native languages (Bemba and Nyanja) gave the author an added advantage during interview process. In the selection of interviewees and in the analysis of the interviews, the factor of ethnicity was not considered. Although Zambian has as many as seventy-three different ethnic groups, each with their own language and traditions, in post-colonial Zambia ethnicity is a factor of decreasing significance, especially in urban areas. During interviews, Bemba, Njanja and English were the only languages used. For purposes of this study, oral data from the Bemba

[74] Oral history collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through interviews. See Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, 2nd edn. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 19.
[75] Oral history, according to Hall and Hall "is similar to life story, although it is from the perspective of a social group rather than an individual. Information members of a group about the past enables a people's history to be told. It can also be used both to illustrate the theoretical concerns of the researcher as well as benefiting the people who share their memories and stories." See David J. Hall and Ira M. Hall, *Practical Social Research: Project Work in the Community* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 183-187.
[76] See John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3rd ed., (London: Sage, 2009), 50.

and Njanja languages is offered solely as English translations. The interview style was flexible, structured or semi-structured as deemed appropriate for the situation. The unstructured interviews had minimum guidance and allowed the conversation to develop naturally, leaving room for new questions to arise.[77] Hollenweger highlights the tradition of participative orality in Pentecostal culture,[78] contributing also here to the vivid descriptiveness in the testimony and stories of interviewees. Several factors encouraged the use of face-to-face interviews. It enabled the continuity of the interviewees' accounts to be preserved and helped the author to be flexible to analyse the direction the interview was heading and optimise the contant covered during the interview. The interviewees provided their own interpretations of events in their church history, allowing this study to analyse the meanings which the interviewees placed on events. Where there were more than one interviewee providing his or her personal account of a given context, the author was able to compare the stories of these interviewees.

Although the growing oral narrative provided a sense of the concreteness within the oral history of Pentecostalism in Zambia, the researcher discovered that the narrative was not without its own inherent problems. As an oral narrative, it involved an act of memory, and inevitably both accuracies and inaccuracies were transmitted, as interviewees selected the material they included or excluded in the interviews, whether consciously or unconsciously. Hence, critical judgement was also required in the assessment of assertions made by the interviewees. The veracity of oral narrative was gauged through comparison with other

[77] See Mark J. Cartledge, *Practical Theology, Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives* (London: Paternoster Press, 2003), 71.
[78] Hollenweger explains that "the root and growth of Pentecostalism depend upon its oral theology; this include orality in liturgy, narrativity of theology and witness, maximum participation at levels of reflection, prayer and decision-making." See Walter J. Hollenweger, "Charismatic Renewal in Third World: Implications for Mission," *OBMR*, vol. 4 (1980): 68-76.

interviews on similar subjects and corroborated with related documentary evidence where possible. The narratives and testimonies were examined for patterns and relationships in parallel with relevant concepts from anthropological, sociological and theological studies. Armed with this literature, interpretation of the oral materials was conducted, followed by critical evaluation. This process was repeated several times to test arising theoretical conceptions. In allowing individuals at the grassroots of the movement, and not just their leaders, to speak into this thesis, the author hoped to uncover aspects that would demonstrate the distinctiveness of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity, whilst at the same time reveal its identifiability under the umbrella of global Pentecostalism. Denzin and Lincoln's interview strategy were adopted to counteract the traditional stance of the neutral and aloof interviewer. Both Denzin and Lincoln propose that:

> A researcher comes down to the level of the respondents and engages in real conversation to give and take an emphatic understanding. This makes the interview more honest, morally sound and reliable because it treats the respondents as equals, allows them to express personal feelings and therefore, presents a more realistic picture than that which can be uncovered using traditional methods.[79]

One disadvantage of this approach is that it is potentially easier for bias to creep in, but an awareness of this by the interviewer helps to counteract the issue. Peterson notes that "an adequate understanding of the topic being investigated, as well as good knowledge of the study participants, would form part of the skilfulness of a researcher."[80] Ensuring that interviewees can provide the needed information is an important goal a researcher must attain. Foddy, although leaving room for the interviewer to ask hypothetical questions, cautions that such questions should be accompanied by interviewees' actual experiences to motivate interviewees to answer them, as well as to meet criterion of relevance. Interviewees

[79] Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The Landscape of Qualitative Research* (London: Sage Publications, 2008), 68.
[80] See Randall Peterson, *Constructing Effective Questionnaires* (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 16, 25.

will consistently provide answers within the same 'dimensions' the researcher anticipates, if enough time and clarify is provided to formulate the dimensions, although this strategy also tends to impose response categories upon interviewees.[81] Foddy, Peterson and Bradburn also note that,

> Some interpretation interferences arise from interviewees' social cultures in which the research is done, such as those required norms of communication that determine what interviewees may tell a stranger. The components that form the contexts of the interviews include the purpose of the research, the social interaction and where questions are positioned; and these elements pose biasing effects.[82]

If a concise summary was to be made of the interviewing environment needed to ensure that clarity and definition of the topic is maintained, this might be as follows:

i. The researcher has adequately defined the topic and made it understood,
ii. Interviewees have the needed information,
iii. Interviewees can and will access the needed information without difficulty.

(b) Limitations to Data Collection Methods

Of the one hundred and twenty identified potential interviewees, one hundred and fifteen were interviewed, which represents an eighty-six percent response rate. Despite the impressive response rate, informant errors and time errors[83] were observed as some of the drawbacks to the methods of data collection this study employed. Therefore, the results and conclusions of this thesis may not be so easily generalised, nor can they be used to adequately

[81] See discussion in William H. Foddy, *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires: Theory and Practice in Social Research* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 32-37, 77-79.
[82] Foddy, *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires*, 5-6, 16, 68-69, 72-73, 75; Peterson, *Constructing Effective Questionnaires*, 10 and Norman M. Brandburn et al., *Asking Questions: The Definitive Guide to Questionnaire Design for Market Research, Political Polls, and Social and Health Questionnaires* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2004), 145, 149.
[83] Saunders observes that "informant error and time error are the major issues which affect validity and reliability of any data collection method." See Mark N. K. Saunders et al., *Research Methods for Business Students* (London: Pitman/Financial Times, 2012), 361-362.

or comprehensively confirm the findings of other scholars. However, some of the issues where they arise can be mitigated in the converse direction, where reference to available written scholarly sources on the topic confirm collected data from interviews conducted. Hence, the methods for data collection for this study have proven overall to be both appropriate and adequate.

3.2.1. Initial Sampling (September 2013-March 2014)

Charmaz's views on grounded theory were applied to gather rich data, using initial sampling criteria and coding concepts. Coding generally means attaching labels to segments of data that define them. Charmaz's proposed codes: initial and theoretical codes, were therefore useful for this study's data analysis.[84] Initial coding enabled openness to theoretical possibilities of data, by sticking closely to data, by perceiving and preserving action statements rather than preconceptions.[85] The initial sample consisted of eighty people, twenty-eight belonged to the Prophetic group, twenty-six were Classical Pentecostals and twenty-six were Neo-Pentecostals. All the eighty interviewees (fifty-two male and twenty-eight female) were geographically accessible. The initial interviews were successfully conducted for the complete sample of eighty people. It was pleasing to note that the selected eighty interviewees produced quality information and first-hand insight on Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in Zambia.

[84] See Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (London: Sage, 2006), 138.
[85] Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, 53-60.

Table A1: Base Data – Initial Sampling

Code	Age	Gender	Church Affiliation	Province	Rural/Urban
ZMP001	86	Male	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP002	80	Female	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP003	79	Male	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP004	83	Male	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP005	77	Female	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP006	78	Female	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP007	81	Male	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP008	88	Female	Charismatic	Central	Rural
ZMP009	79	Male	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP010	87	Female	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP011	86	Female	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP012	88	Male	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP013	77	Male	Prophetic	Central	Urban
ZMP014	79	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP015	81	Female	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP016	72	Female	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP017	76	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP018	84	Female	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP019	84	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP020	80	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP021	79	Female	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP022	70	Male	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP023	81	Female	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP024	79	Male	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP025	82	Female	Classical	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP026	75	Female	Classical	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP027	80	Male	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP028	86	Male	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP029	75	Male	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP030	82	Male	Charismatic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP031	88	Female	Charismatic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP032	78	Female	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP033	77	Male	Charismatic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP034	89	Male	Classical	Central	Rural
ZMP035	87	Female	Charismatic	Central	Rural
ZMP036	82	Male	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP037	80	Male	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP038	79	Female	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP039	77	Female	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP040	86	Male	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP041	81	Male	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP042	75	Male	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP043	78	Male	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP044	86	Female	Prophetic	Copperbelt	Urban

ZMP045	74	Male	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP046	89	Male	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP047	87	Male	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP048	83	Male	Charismatic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP049	82	Female	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP050	84	Male	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP051	76	Male	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP052	80	Male	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP053	76	Male	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP054	81	Male	Charismatic	Northern	Rural
ZMP055	80	Female	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP056	82	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP057	81	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP058	79	Male	Classical	Northern	Rural
ZMP059	80	Male	Classical	Northern	Rural
ZMP060	81	Male	Classical	Northern	Rural
ZMP061	79	Male	Classical	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP062	74	Female	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP063	84	Male	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP064	80	Female	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP065	81	Male	Prophetic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP066	85	Male	Prophetic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP067	86	Male	Classical	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP068	82	Male	Charismatic	Central	Rural
ZMP069	80	Female	Classical	Central	Rural
ZMP070	85	Female	Classical	Central	Rural
ZMP071	86	Male	Charismatic	Northern	Rural
ZMP072	85	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP073	85	Female	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP074	87	Female	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP075	84	Male	Charismatic	Central	Rural
ZMP076	79	Male	Charismatic	Central	Rural
ZMP077	82	Male	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP078	86	Male	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP079	80	Female	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP080	82	Male	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban

3.2.2. Theoretical Sampling (January 2015-June 2016)

After initial sampling, it was rather difficult to predict the direction this research was likely to take. However, it was clear from the outset that the study would require a flexible qualitative approach. Therefore, Grounded Theory Methods (Theological Theories) were applied at this

stage, where constant comparison of data was analysed concurrently during the theory construction process.[86] As Charmaz notes, "Grounded Theory Methods offers an abductive model of research and theory building, in which theory is developed from a systematic analysis of the data; the theory unfolding by constant comparison back to the data to ensure it remains grounded in the data."[87] Here Charmaz notes the flexibility of what Grounded Theory Methods offers, as it does not endorse, prescribe or impose any 'paradigmatic' view of reality. In the long run, this enables any discipline to assert its epistemological assumptions, concurrently allowing social science methods to function freely. Strauss notes that "Grounded Theory Methods help to systematically build theories inductively, whereby a theory is 'discovered,' developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of a given phenomenon; when a researcher derives a general, abstract theory of a process, action or interaction, empirically grounded in the views of participants."[88] Various scholars concur that Grounded Theory Methods successfully develop theories that emerge from the data, which are at the same time able to meet the scientific criteria of generalisability, reproduction, rigour and verification,[89] and offer numerous possibilities that have been applied by researchers in Practical Theology. Charmaz's observation that "Grounded Theory Methods directly link macroscopic issues such as contexts, to the phenomena of study, in order to establish relationships is also a useful factor provided by grounded theory methods in theological research."[90] Sources used to generate data for grounded theories included interviews. Hence, I returned to Zambia for two 'theoretical sampling' interviews with forty interviewees (thirteen were Classical

[86] Charmaz, Constructing *Grounded Theory*, 178-180.
[87] Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, 510.
[88] See Anselm L. Strauss and Juliet M. Corbin, *Grounded Theory in Practice* (London: Sage Publication, 1997), vii.
[89] Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, 176; Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 13; Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1967), 3 and Strauss and Corbin, *Grounded Theory in Practice*, vii.
[90] Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, 9-10.

Pentecostals, thirteen were Prophetic and fourteen were Neo-Pentecostals). With the intention of developing the conversation that had already begun, it was decided to interview forty interviewees, fifteen of whom participated in the initial sampling, and as a result partook of two theoretical sampling interviews each. Unlike statistical or quantitative sampling methods, Charmaz, Glaser and Byrne and Strauss note that "Grounded Theories Methods can introduce new pieces of data to an emerging narrative, or entirely add new puzzles, by revising them while gathering data and following leads as they emerge, simultaneously focusing on the methods."[91]

It was felt by the interviewer that one of the ways the research should to be conducted was to allow the interviewees to raise issues without imposing any preconceived ideas upon them. Thus, during the theoretical sampling, there were three specific areas of interest that were to be explored. The concern was for more data about the key players in the development of Pentecostalism, the theology of Pentecostalism, and the emergence of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia in particular. The author also hoped to gain an insight into the reasons and means by which Pentecostalism in Zambia was to develop Social Pentecostalism. Hence, the central research questions were therefore developed to be as open yet as comprehensive as possible. The questions were designed to be capable of being answered from multiple perspectives and outlooks. The researcher began by asking interviewees the following questions:

1. Have you been part of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia?
2. Which Pentecostal-Charismatic group do you associate yourself with?

[91] See Barney G. Glaser and Aselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967), 101-106.

3. Could you please tell me your stories about Pentecostal experiences, either from your own experience or something you heard from someone else?
4. What have you read, seen or witnessed or told that has been most influential in shaping your perspective on Zambian Pentecostalism?
5. Where there any recognised local Pentecostal-Charismatic groups in Zambia before the arrival of Classical Pentecostal Churches?
6. How many streams of Pentecostalism are there in Zambia?
7. How did each of these streams of Pentecostalism emerge in the nation of Zambia?
8. Which personalities have been instrumental in the shaping of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia?
9. What were the main factors in the growth of the African Independent Churches, the Classical Pentecostal Churches and the Neo-Pentecostal Churches?
10. What are the main theologies and practices of the African Independent Churches, the Classical Pentecostal Churches and Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia?
11. In your view, which Pentecostal-Charismatic theologies and practices need to be refined?
12. What could you say is unique about Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity?
13. If you were doing this interview, what questions would you ask, or ask differently that I have not covered?
14. How representative do you feel your personal views on Zambia Pentecostalism are among your peers?
15. Any parting shot?
16. May I have your permission to quote from your own remarks? If so, what level of anonymity, if any, do you prefer?

When asked how Pentecostalism emerged in Zambia, eight-three percent of interviewees were able to narrate how the three streams or traditions of Pentecostalism emerged in Zambia. While seventeen percent of interviewees were not fully familiar with how the earliest Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Pentecostalism emerged. When asked about the ethos of Zambian Pentecostalism, all the one hundred and fifteen interviewees were able to explain what they perceived as the main theologies and practices of the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches. A sense of Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' theologies and practices were acquired through interviews with those who belonged to the Prophetic and Neo-Pentecostal groups. An eclectic approach to oral sources allowed this study to paint a reasonably comprehensive picture of how Pentecostalism in Zambia initially emerged and how its ethos has developed. When asked about the key role players in the development of Pentecostalism in Zambia, eighty-seven percent of interviewees identified Joel Chidzakazi Phiri, Jack and Winsome Muggleton, Winston David Broomes, Alice Lenshina and Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba. When asked about which factors contributed to the growth of Pentecostalism, all the one hundred interviewees were able to identify what they perceived as major elements in the growth of Zambian Pentecostalism.

Table A2: Base Data – Theoretical Sampling

Code	Age	Gender	Church Affiliation	Province	Rural/Urban
ZMP001	86	Male	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP002	80	Female	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP009	79	Male	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP010	87	Female	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP014	79	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP018	84	Female	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP021	79	Female	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP023	81	Male	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP027	80	Male	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural

ZMP029	75	Male	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP033	77	Male	Charismatic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP038	79	Female	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP040	86	Male	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP044	86	Female	Prophetic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP057	81	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP081	74	Female	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP082	81	Male	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP083	75	Male	Prophetic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP084	86	Female	Classical	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP085	82	Female	Charismatic	Copperbelt	Urban
ZMP086	87	Male	Prophetic	Northern	Rural
ZMP087	79	Female	Classical	Northern	Rural
ZMP088	83	Female	Charismatic	Northern	Rural
ZMP089	80	Male	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP090	78	Female	Prophetic	Central	Rural
ZMP091	77	Male	Classical	Central	Rural
ZMP092	82	Female	Charismatic	Central	Rural
ZMP093	80	Male	Classical	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP094	75	Female	Classical	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP095	83	Female	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP096	82	Male	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP097	83	Male	Charismatic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP098	84	Female	Prophetic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP099	76	Male	Prophetic	Lusaka	Urban
ZMP100	82	Female	Charismatic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP101	80	Male	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP102	79	Female	Prophetic	Eastern	Rural
ZMP103	76	Male	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP104	87	Female	Classical	Eastern	Rural
ZMP105	82	Male	Charismatic	Eastern	Rural

3.2.3. Data Analytic Methods

During face-to-face interviews, notes were taken and results from the interview transcript were immediately compared with previous interviews. In this process, data analysis was conducted by means of content analysis of interview transcripts. The analysis[92] utilised

[92] According to Anderson "analysis is a process of thought that enables the researcher to understand the nature of what is being investigated, the relationship between different variables in a situation and the likely outcomes of particular actions or interventions. Therefore, analysis involves finding answers to the research questions

Dedoose,[93] a user friendly collaborative web-based application that facilitates all types of research data management and analysis. Categories from the initial set of questions were defined and explored by means of content analysis. At the same time, this digital analysis was supplemented by a close reading of hard copies of the interview transcripts. Using the 'constant comparative method,'[94] one set of data was compared with other sets of data, to find similarities and differences and to make comparisons and contrasts.[95] After completing the first stage of initial coding and concept formation, four tentative conceptual categories were identified as follows:

Table A3: Coding Categories – Conceptual, Analytic and Theoretical

Theoretical Categories	**Analytic Categories**	**Conceptual Categories**
Historical	Emergence of Pentecostalism	Growth, evolution and development of Pentecostalism
Historical	Influential personalities in Pentecostalism	Roles played by people in the development of Pentecostalism
Theological	Theologies and practices of Pentecostalism	Doctrinal beliefs, key theologies and practices.
Miscellaneous	Social Pentecostalism and the Prosperity Gospel.	Pentecostals-Charismatics' political contextual theologies or theologies of socio-political participation and the Prosperity Gospel.

The next stage of analysis focused on coding and concept development, and an attempt was made to synthesise and explain the larger segments of data.[96] This synthesis is a key stage in the goal of formulating what Glaser and Strauss describe as a "substantive theory, developed

using gathered data by asking questions such as 'what?', 'how?' and 'why?' See Valarie Anderson, *Research Methods in Human Resource Management* (London: CIPD, 2009), 210.

[93] Dedoose, "User Guide," dedoose.com/userguide/content/citing-dedoo

[94] See Barney G. Glaser and Aselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967), 105-113.

[95] Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, 54.

[96] Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, 57.

for a substantive or empirical, area of sociological inquiry"[97] as is here also the intented outcome.

(c) Summary of Results from the Main Research Questions

i. The results from the first research question about how Pentecostalism emerged in Zambia, show that eighty-three of interviewees agreed that Pentecostalism emerged in continuity with the fruit of the European missionary enterprises.

ii. The second question enquiring whom the interviewees considered were or are the key players in the development of Pentecostalism in Zambia, demonstrated that many of these interviewees, at least eighty-seven, were aware of the key players by name.

iii. The third question about the main factors causing the growth of Pentecostalism in Zambia overwhelmingly showed that hundred percent of interviewees knew who the personalities involved were/are.

iv. Finally, the results of the fourth question enquiring about the theologies and practices, revealed that hundred percent of interviewees were aware of the main theologies and practices of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches.

Interviewees were asked how closely the topic covered corresponded with their own areas of experience. Their responses are collated below:

	Percentage (%) Response
A lot	83%
Enough	10%
Some	7%
A little	0%
Nothing	0%

[97] Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory,* 32.

None of the one hundred and fifteen interviewees felt that they knew ‘nothing’ or ‘little’ Zambian Pentecostalism, suggesting that all of them were at least aware of the oral history of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia. The largest proportion eighty-three percent felt that they knew ‘a lot’ about the history of Pentecostalism in Zambia, and when combined with those who said they knew ‘enough’ about it, this represents a significant ninety-three percent of those who were interviewed.

3.4. Credibility

To evaluate the credibility of this research, a draft interview transcript was sent to all interviewees requesting them to answer the following four major questions:

1. How closely does this thesis that Pentecostalism in Zambia emerged within the continuity of the fruit of the European missionary enterprises fit your own story?

Yes	96%
No	4%

A high proportion ninety-six percent of interviewees agreed that that Zambian Pentecostalism emerged within the continuity of the fruit of the European missionary enterprises. While four percent thought that Pentecostalism in Zambia emerged among the white Pentecostal families on the Copperbelt.

2. Is the thesis readily understandable?

Yes	99%
No	1%

Almost all the interviewees (114 out of 115) felt that the thesis was readily understandable. Only one interviewee did not feel that the thesis was easily readable.

3. Can the thesis fit into the general Zambian Pentecostal history?

Yes	100%
No	0%

All interviewees felt that the thesis could fit into the Zambian Pentecostal history.

4. Would the thesis help you read and confirm that the emergence of Pentecostalism in Zambia can be traced back to the 1940s?

Yes	95%
No	5%

Ninety-five percent of interviewees confirmed that the 1940s were indeed the years when Pentecostalism emerged in Zambia. Only five percent of interviewees felt that 1950s was when Pentecostalism emerged in Zambia.

Table A4: Credibility – Interviewees Evaluation

In attempting to understand the high percentage values from interviewees who answered the above four questions, twenty-four interviewees (eight from each tradition of Zambian Pentecostalism) were sent a draft of the transcript and were asked if they fully understood what the study was trying to achieve. Below were the interviewees responses:

Interviewee	**Church Affiliation**	**Understanding**	**Generality**	**Fit**
ZMP021 ZMP023 ZMP033 ZMP085 ZMP088 ZMP092 ZMP095 ZMP096	Neo-Pentecostal	All eight interviewees agreed that the issues covered in the study can be easily understood.	All eight interviewees stated that the study can be regarded as a piece of oral history that has traced the evolution and development of Pentecostalism in Zambia in three forms.	All eight interviewees stated that all the overall themes covered in the dissertation fitted with their expectations.
ZMP001 ZMP002 ZMP082 ZMP084 ZMP087 ZMP091 ZMP103 ZMP104	Classical	All eight interviewees agreed that the issues covered in the thesis can be easily understood.	All eight interviewees stated that the dissertation can be regarded as the only piece of oral history that has traced Pentecostalism's origin back to the 1940s.	All eight interviewees stated that all the themes covered in the study fitted with their expectations.
ZMP009 ZMP010 ZMP014 ZMP018 ZMP029 ZMP038 ZMP044 ZMP057	Prophetic	All eight interviewees agreed that the issues covered in the study can be easily understood.	All eight interviewees stated that the study can be regarded as a piece of oral history that acknowledges by Lenshina's role in the development of Pentecostalism.	All eight interviewees stated that all the themes covered in the dissertation fitted with their expectations.

3.5. Ethical Issues

Prior to commencing this research study, the researcher had to obtain approval from the University of Chester's Ethics Committee. The study's research methods of data collection were approved by the Faculty of Humanities Research Ethics Committee (FHREC) of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Chester on 23rd January 2013. The author had a duty of care towards his interviewees that required him to design safeguards into the research project.[98] Alongside ensuring that participation was voluntary, and that confidentiality would be maintained, the researcher ensured interviewees had access to the supervisor's contact details should they need any further information on conducting the interview, each interviewee was debriefed. The research process was conducted in a professional manner. All the participants in the research were dealt with openly and honestly with a view of maintain the respect of both the researcher and the integrity of the study. All research ethical boundaries were adhered to throughout the process; including data collection, analysis and storage. Interviewees' interests were protected, and the researcher strived to avoid any forms of deception or misinterpretation.

All the one hundred and fifteen interviewees were voluntary and were given informed consent forms to complete before participating in the interviews. The aims and objectives of the research study were clearly explained to all the one hundred and fifteen interviewees. In this way, interviewees were helped to have sufficient information about the thesis which allowed them to make reasonable judgements about whether to take part or not. For the safety of all participants, at no time was there any likelihood of any interviewee experiencing any form of harm. About ninety-six percent of interviewees did not want their identities to be

[98] See John McLeod, *Doing Counselling Research*, 2nd edn. (London: Sage Publication Limited, 2003), 168-172.

revealed in this thesis while the other four percent did not mind their names revealed, because they wanted to be part of the written history. When quoting interviewees participating in this study, interviewee codes (for instance, ZMP001) will be used throughout this study. Interview dates, interview locations and interviewees' gender will be included in the bibliography.

3.6. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methods of data collection utilised, and has also sought to defend them, in what has been demonstrated as a valid research area and field of knowledge generation. The chosen methodological strategy was based upon mixed method strategy in which pluralist methods have been utilised to collect a variety of evidence, with ongoing triangulation of the research. Multiple methods were employed with the aim of strengthening the thesis, and quality was assured by validating collected interview data against corroborating sources, and through use of multiple informants. A multiple method research design was also useful in overcoming weaknesses and limitations associated with single method approaches. The use of a multiple method research design has provided scope for a richer approach to the data collected, its analysis and interpretation. The data analysis was conducted by means of content analysis of interview transcripts. This analysis was conducted with the technological assistance of Dedoose web software, providing a powerful collaborative data management and analysis environment. Categories from the initial set of questions were defined and explored by means of content analysis, and undertaken both digitally, and by close reading of hard copies of the interview transcript. Using the constant comparative method, data was compared to find similarities and differences, and to make

comparisons and contrasts. Patterns from the data were coded and formed into thematic patterns. These themes were used to answer the guiding research questions.

The next chapter will present a brief account of the history of Christianity in Zambia before progressing to the main findings of the study and its conclusion.

PART ONE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN ZAMBIA

CHAPTER FOUR

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ZAMBIAN CHURCHES

4.0. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed and defended the research methodology that this study employed, including the robustness of the methodology for the collection and compilation of data used. This chapter will be divided into three sections. The first 4.1 covers the brief history of the Protestantism (Protestant Churches) in Zambia. Section 4.2 gives a short historical account of Zambian Catholicism (the Roman Catholic Church). The history of the Zambian Independent Churches' is touched on in the third section 4.3, and section 4.4 concludes the chapter.

4.1. Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches (Protestantism)

Protestant missionaries or more generally Christian missionaries (henceforth simply referred to as European missionaries) entered the country in the 1880s. Zambians had a religious awareness that paved the way for the growing impact of both Catholic and Protestant organised missions after they reached Zambia. Henkel writes that:

> The Christianisation of Zambian population has taken place since the 1880s when the first Western Christian missionaries, mostly Scottish, including Dr. David Livingstone arrived; and since the arrival of these Western missionaries, Christianity has been an integral aspect of Zambian life and culture.[99]

In agreement with Henkel, Binsbergen asserts that:

> Over a century after the arrival of Western Christian missionaries, the presence of Christianity in Zambia has been inescapable; this is the reason why by and large, most

[99] See Reinhard Henkel, *Christian Mission in Africa: A Social Geographical Study of Their Activities in Zambia* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989), 23-39.

> Zambians were, and are still deeply religious and possesses a very strong inclination towards Christianity.[100]

In other words, Protestantism in Zambia was planted by Scottish missionaries, notably Dr. David Livingstone who arrived in the country in the late 19th century, and it was well adapted to encounter Zambian religiosity. According to Rotberg, "Dr. David Livingstone preceded other Christian missionary activities, leading to the formation of many Christian mission stations and churches; and between 1882 and 1924, over hundred mission stations were opened in Zambia."[101] The London Missionary Society (LMS) was the first Christian organisation or Society to establish a mission station based at Niamikolo close to Lake Tanganyika in 1885. The LMS established its mission in Bulozi during the reign of Sekeletu son of Sebitwane. Numerous other Christian missions were built and opened throughout Zambia. Part of the rapid spread of these missions was the acceptance of Christianity among some of the smaller tribes of the Northern region of Zambia. People perceived that the missionaries would provide effective protection from the more powerful tribes and tyrannical chiefs. Other missions followed the London Mission Society's example and established their presence in other parts of Zambia. Rotberg reports that:

> The London Mission Society was led by Dr. Robert Moffat. Another attempt was made by the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) by Bishop Mackenzie. Unfortunately, malaria got better of them. The London Mission Society set up the mission in about 1878, this was almost twenty-five years after first contact was made between Sekeletu and Dr. David Livingstone. However, this time the London Mission Society was led by Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) and the Lozi were led by Litunga Lewanika. Coillard was accompanied by the Basotho who spoke a language similar to Lozi. The Basotho persuaded the Litunga to accept the Missionaries because they would help in getting British Protection just as Chief Khama of Ngwato had done. Protection was needed against the Portuguese who were interested in linking the west and east (Angola and Mozambique). Lewanika did not want to be like Sekeletu who did not trust the Missionaries. The Litunga, although suspicious of the activities of the missionaries

[100] See Wim Van Binsbergen, *Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1981), 75-88.
[101] See Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 38-40.

> allowed them to stay hoping that their presence would facilitate trade with the outsiders. The London Mission Society set up its first mission at Sefula, a few kilometres from Lealui, the Lozi capital. The London Mission Society also built schools for the community and royal families. Coillard died in 1904 just a few days after the death of his wife. The Mission was also active in the Northern part of modern Zambia since the 1880s. Missionaries worked in the south of Lake Tannganyika, and around Mporokoso. However, the progress was very slow due to malaria infestations and activities of the slave traders.[102]

The Paris Evangelical Mission Society (PEMS) was opened at Lealui in 1892. The PEMS worked mainly among the Ila people who were subjects of the Lozi. This did not please the Litunga. When malaria broke out among the Ila, the PEMS decided to return to Bulozi, but the Litunga would not allow them, leading to the mission being abandoned. Another mission, the Plymouth Brethren Mission (PBM) was opened in 1881, headed by Fredick Arnot who worked in Bulozi for a long time before moving into modern Angola and eventually settling in the Lunda kingdom near Lake Mweru. The Primitive Methodists Mission (PMM) was opened in 1892 and worked mainly among the Ila people in Western Zambia. The Presbyterians mission established its presence at Mwenzo in 1894.

The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) initially was disinterested in missionary work, but after 1880, Andrew Charles Murray, son of a Reverend, worked among the Chiwere Ngoni after leaving the Livingstonia Mission with Emslie. The people thought he had supernatural powers especially after 'successfully' praying for the rains. The Dutch Reformed Church which later became known as Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ) set up several schools and converted Africans to Christianity. Murray and Emslie were later joined by other missionaries and expanded their activities to the Eastern province of Zambia. By 1900, they had trained about forty-eight Africans to be teachers. By the turn of the 20th century, there

[102] Robert I Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 56.

were schools teaching Africans to read and write, and speak foreign languages such as English, French and Swahili. New methods of farming were also introduced using tools such as wooden ploughs. New crops were introduced. The Anglican mission station begin in 1911 and was established by Leonard Kamungu, a priest from Malawi at Msoro. The United Church of Zambia (UCZ), which is currently the largest Protestant church in Zambia, was formed in 1965 through the union of six existing church groups, the Church of Central Africa, Rhodesia (a mission work of the Church of Scotland), the Union Church of Copperbelt, the Copperbelt Free Church Council, the Church of Barotseland and the Methodist Church.

4.2. The Roman Catholic Church (Catholicism)

The words 'Catholicism' and 'Catholic' are used throughout this study to mean 'Roman Catholicism' and 'Roman Catholic Church.' The impetus behind the arrival of Catholic missionaries in Zambia stems from to the work of Dr. David Livingstone, who as the Scottish explorer and first European Christian missionary to arrive, first introduced Christianity to Zambia in the early 1860s. According to Rotberg, "Livingstone never established a mission station in Zambia until he died in Serenje. However, he influenced the coming of Christian missionaries to Zambia through his publications on the travels he made, the speeches he made, his death, and the special call he made to the whole Christian world to continue the work he had started."[103] According to Coyne, "Catholic Christianity was first introduced in Zambia by the White Fathers in the north and east, and by the Jesuits in the south and central Zambia,"[104] in the 1890s and 1900s. Hinfelaar provides further background:

[103] See Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia*, 4-6.
[104] John Coyne, *A History of the Jesuits in Zambia* (Lusaka: Unpublished Typescript at the Jesuit Novitiate, 1970), 33-38.

> The White Fathers were the first Catholic congregation to work in Zambia and arrived in 1891. The White Fathers were called the Missionaries of Africa, and had been founded by the French Cardinal, Charles Martila Lavigerie whose father was a liberal and anti-clerical senior Civil servant who had not approved of his son becoming a priest. Lavigerie worked in the Roman Curia in the Vatican and had two doctorates, and a professorship of Church history at Sarbone University in Paris, France. After realising that there was something wrong with the restrictive and centralising tendencies of the administration in the Vatican who forced all Christians to follow the Latin rite of Christian worship, he became a champion of inculturation. This was done by fighting for the right of churches to worship in their own languages. Lavigerie needed an association of men, flexible and decentralised enough to move into Africa when he was assigned the task of opening up Africa for the Catholic Church in Algiers, Algeria. And so, in July 1868, he founded a society, which he called 'Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa.' The society recruited secular priests and lay brothers to open schools, model farms, orphanages, medical centres and homes for the elderly in Africa.[105]

Hinfelaar goes on to write that "the arrival of the White Fathers was largely negotiated with local rulers and thus, they founded the first European settlement in Bembaland under the direction of Bishop Joseph Dupont popularly called Moto moto."[106] This was after abandoning Mambwe Mwela, a site which they had found deserted by the African Lakes Company, and later used as their first station. The African Lake Company was initially called Livingstonia Central African Company, and commonly known as the African Lakes Corporation and it was largely founded by the interests in supporting the Livingstonia Mission with the aim of following up missionary work with legitimate trade and opening a route from the Indian Ocean to Lake Tanganyika. From Mambwe Mwela, the White Fathers were premitted by Chief Makasa Mwilwa Mukukawa Mipini to come into Lubemba at Kayambi. It was from there that the White Fathers expanded their work in Zambia. The Jesuits missionaries who also came to Zambia to spread Catholicism followed the White Fathers. The Jesuits came to Zambia at the beginning of the 20th century (1905), the Society

[105] Hugo Hinfelaar, *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia 1895-1995* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2004), 21.
[106] Hinfelarr, *A History of the Catholic Church in Zambia*, 21-22.

of Jesus (Jesuits) having been founded in 1530, over three hundred years before the White Fathers were formed. According to Hinfelaar,

> The society of Jesus (Jesuits) was founded by a Saint Ignatius of Loyola who was a young man who had served at the royal court and was trained to be a professional soldier. However, while defending a castle at Pamplong, he was wounded severely in both legs and read the lives of the saints in his depression and boredom. After a long retreat, he made a vow to denounce any worldly honour, but instead serve Jesus Christ. He therefore, entered university and attracted some of his fellow students to follow the same ideals and later travelled to Rome to the Pope, obtained permission to find a new religious congregation and called it the Society of Jesus, popularly called the Jesuits. The Jesuits adopted the new scientific discoveries of the time and worked in Catholic universities training young people in preparing for God's work. Due to the success of their spirituality, structures and apostolic methods, many missionary societies including the White Fathers were modelled on the example of the Jesuits.[107]

Murphy writes that, "some years before 1879, the Jesuits had been entrusted with the responsibility for what was known as the Zambezi mission, which stretched from the Limpopo River northwards to the Democratic Republic of Congo. In 1902, Monsignor Sykes, the superior of the Zambezi mission contacted Major Robert Codrington the British South Africa Company (BSA Co.) official at Kalomo and requested a site for a mission."[108] After forwarding the request to the London office of the BSA Co., the Jesuits were granted about 10,000 acres of land in Chief Monze's area. Thereafter, two French Jesuits, Father Joseph Moreau and Jules Torrend arrived at Chikuni in 1905, and Father Torrend soon left Chikuni to set up Kasisi mission, which through his influence it soon became the centre of the Jesuit missionary endeavour in the area. It was from these beginnings that the Jesuits established mission stations in Zambia and planted seeds of Catholicism. The coming of the White Fathers and Jesuits missionaries marked the end of the missionary pioneering stage and this gave way to the missionary expansion period, which saw the coming of the Franciscans. The

[107] Hinfelaar, *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia*, 57.
[108] Edward Murphy, *A History of the Jesuits in Zambia: A Mission Becomes a Province* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2003), 144.

Franciscan Friars belonged to an order, which was far older than the missionary society of the White Fathers and even that of the Jesuits. Hinfelaar writes that:

> The Franciscan society had been founded by Saint Francis, an Italian from Assisi in 1209. When young, Francis left all his possessions and assumed a life of poverty. Other young men then followed him, and a new order called Friars Minor, humble brothers, was founded. They had three major divisions, with one for men, the Friars, one for women, the nuns, called poor Clares, and one for the lay people, the lay tertiaries who were called the third order. In their long history, the Friars divided themselves into three distinct and independent branches, and these were, the Friars Minor, Friars Minor Conventuals (OFMconv), and Friars Minor Capuchins (OFMcap).[109]

Hinfelaar writes that "the Friars Minor Conventuals (OFMconv) were the first Franciscans to come to Zambia in the 1930s, and were often dressed in grey habits, thereby, at times, called grey Friars. They recited the Divine office together in choir, in Conventuals hence, called the Conventuals."[110] O'Shea describes how:

> The Friar Minor Capuchins came to spread the Catholic faith in Zambia in the 1930s and settled in and around Livingstone in Southern province. The name Capuchin came from the Italian word *Scappuccini*, hermits. They wore a brown habit, girded with a cord, a long-pointed hood and sandals, and followed a literal observance of the rule of Saint Francis.[111]

Other Catholic orders arrived in Zambia to spread the gospel. According to Hinfelaar, "The White Fathers and Jesuits entered Zambia in the missionary pioneering stage that is 1891 and 1905, while the Franciscan Friars Minor Conventuals and Franciscan Friars Minor Capuchins came in the stage of missionary expansion that is in 1931. The missionary congregations of sisters who came to Zambia before 1940 were the White Sisters (1902), the Dominican Sisters (1925), the Holy Cross Sisters (1936), and between 1945 and 1959, eight other congregations of sisters came to Zambia after 1960."[112] Whereas Protestants came as

[109] Hinfelaar, *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia*, 126-127.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Michael O'Shea, *Missionaries and Miners* (Ndola: Mission Press, 1986), 268.
[112] Hinfelaar, *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia*, 126-127.

missionary societies, the Catholic Church planted the seeds of Catholicism as series of orders that set roots in Zambia. The White Fathers started their work in the area first in Uganda and Tanzania before moving into Zambia. A mission was established at Ujiji in 1879, and another one among the Mambwe in 1891. Chitimukulu Sampa opposed the White Fathers, but the junior chiefs assisted them, much to the annoyance of the Chitimukulu. They established missions at Mukosa Village. Bishop DuPont set up a mission at Kayambi in 1895. The activities of the White Fathers extended southwards into Lubemba. After the death of Chitimukula Sampa, a civil war broke out due to succession disputes. Most of the subjects went to seek refuge at Kayambi Mission. The Camp was later renamed Chilubula Mission in 1898. Other missions that were set up were Chilonga in Mpika, and the Luangwa Valley mission in 1904.

4.3. The Independent Zambian Churches

Henkel writes that:

> It is incontestable that the seeds of Zambian Pentecostal Christianity were sown when the country was administered by the British Colonial Administration (1890-1924) when European Christian missionary efforts of both the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries in nearly all parts of the country began.[113]

Indeed, the nineteenth century saw the establishment of many missionary societies aiming to evangelise the world for Jesus Christ. Hence, Latourette calls this century the "'*Great Century'* of world mission."[114] M'fundisi contends that "it was due to the missionary activities of Dr. David Livingstone that led to the formation of the Christian mission stations and churches which also resulted in the emergence or rise of the African Independent

[113] Henkel, *Christian Missions in Africa*, 23-29.
[114] See Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 281.

Churches (AICs) in Zambia."[115] Most early Christian missionaries in Zambia, as elsewhere in Africa, focused on the God of the New Testament, where Jesus Christ was doctrinally central, and where God as the Trinity was proclaimed. Perhaps, in this regard, missionaries were more firmly insistent on the purity and orthodoxy of their message which may in part have accounted for the rise of African Independent Churches and Independent Christian religious movements, especially where issues of misfortune and illness were poorly acknowledged.[116] The cerebrally-oriented gospel of the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches in Zambia did not meet the spiritual orientation and aspirations of the Zambians who emerged from experience based traditional worldviews and worship systems. This disparity, among others, led to new developments in Christianity especially in the late 1930s. It is not surprising therefore that the 1940s witnessed an increase in several African-led initiatives of evangelism, worship, prayer and the practice of spiritual gifts, formulated to meet a previously unfulfilled yearning and need, as well as to resolve the problems that Zambians experience, within a context they are accustomed to. Jenkins notes that "over the past century, many African Christians have announced that God has chosen them for a special prophetic mission, and most have sought to Africanise the Christianity that they had received from the European sources."[117]

It is appropriate to state here that many of the independent churches in Zambia were formed as 'Protest Movements' against Western domination. Analysing earlier trends of the independent churches in Zambia, Mildnerová writes that:

[115] See Naar M'fundisi, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Spiritualities and Civic Engagement in Zambia, 1964-2012."
[116] See Fisher, "Conversion Reconsidered: Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black Africa," 32-33.
[117] Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 65.

> In Zambia, the independent churches played an important role in the anti-colonial political struggles and were related to witchcraft eradication movements such as the Mchape that combined the traditional witch-finding methods such as a divination through magical mirrors, Kusamba (ritual cleansing) with Christian practices, such as prayers, sermons and beliefs in the founder's a [*sic*] 'Christ-like resurrection and his future 'second-coming.' The witchcraft eradication movements represented a typical syncretic medico-religious social protest movement. At the beginning of the 20th century, the proliferation of local trials with witches and increasing power of ngan'gas (traditional healers) was felt as a threat to peace in the colony by the British colonial administrators.[118]

Due to the popularity of the African Independent Churches in Zambia, the British colonial administrators decided to take away the chiefs' authority to bring witches to courts and put them on trial, and assumed a specific legal form imposed as the Witchcraft Ordinance 1914.[119] In their British colonial administrators' view, this was one of the ways of supressing the independent churches in Zambia. The Witchcraft Ordinance, which was also put in practice in neighbouring British colonies, prohibited any involvement in both witchcraft and traditional and spiritual healing. However, the local population saw these restrictions as a British's attempt to protect the witches and wizards. As a protest, more anti-witchcraft eradication movements appeared in almost all the ten provinces of Zambia. Despite the ban on the use of the ordeal by *mwavi* poison to test for witchcraft,[120] the witch-finders continued their practice, replacing *mwavi* with a non-poisonous concoction called *mchape*.[121] The

[118] See Mildnerová, "African Independent Churches in Zambia (Lusaka)," 1-18.
[119] The Witchcraft Ordinance of 1914 was renamed in 1967 as the Witchcraft Act. The version of the Witchcraft Act is amended. The last revision of the Witchcraft Act occurred in 1995. See *The Republic of Zambia Witchcraft Act of the Laws of Zambia* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1995), chapter 145.
[120] According to www.henriettesherbal,com/eclectic/usdisp/erythrophleum.htm (retrieved October 20, 2014): "In the past, *mwavi* was used as an 'ordeal poison' to detect witches. This practice was documented not only in Zambia but also in Malawi, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and parts of Mozambique. Mwavi was commonly controlled by political leaders, chiefs and kings in the religion. Prior to the legislation, the British colonial regime in 1900 made an effort to prohibit the traditional witchcraft trials by outlawing the 'poison ordeal.' Mwavi is a drink obtained from Sassy bark (erythropheleum guineense), it produces following effects: felling of constriction in the fauces, attended by pain in the head, and followed by numbness, with, after a toxic dose, stricture across the brow, severe pain in the head, coma, and death."
[121] Marwick reports that "mchape or mcape (local variations mcapi, mucapi) is a ChiNyanja word referring to special non-poisonous medicine of red colour and soapy appearance – that served as a poison ordeal to detect witches. It was believed that mchape would cause any witch who returned to his or her evil practice to die." Locals define "mchape as a medicine prepared by a witch-finder which is given to patients to drink to prove if he or she is a witch or not. It is believed that if a person drinks it, the spirits enters his or her body and makes

Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were less tolerant towards independency and nationalism than the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches and Roman Catholic Churches. It was not surprising that many of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were banned in Zambia.

4.4. Chapter Conclusion

Four observations can be made by way of conclusion about the existing historical portrayal of Chistianity emerging in Zambia.

First, it is important to note that, in the case of Zambia, significant missionary work among the population commenced as a combination of separate Catholic orders and Protestant missions, inspired particularly by Dr. David Livingstone, who in his accounts his missionary journeys into Central Africa, planted the 'seeds' of Christian mission into Africa, after his death drawing even more missionary groups to Zambia.

Second, Catholic Christianity was first introduced in Zambia by the White Fathers in the north and east, and by Jesuits in the south and central Zambia. Other mission orders such as the Franciscan Friars Minor Conventuals (OFMconv) and Friars Minor Capuchins (OFMcap) and other sister congregations followed. There were two stages involved. The White Fathers and Jesuits entered Zambia in the missionary pioneering stage that is, 1891 and 1905, while the Franciscan Friars Minor Conventuals and Franciscan Friars Minor Capuchins came in the stage of missionary expansion, both arriving in 1931. The missionary orders of sisters which came to Zambia before 1940 were, the White Sisters (1902), Dominican Sisters (1925), Holy Cross Sisters (1936), and between 1945 and 1959, eight further congregations of sisters

him or her to explain what he or she has done wrong." See Marwick, "Another Modern Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa," 100-112.

established missions in Zambia after 1960. The Catholic Church in Zambia planted the seeds of Catholicism through distinct orders, unlike Protestants who came through missionary societies.

Third, the Zambian Protestant Church was initially planted mainly by the Scottish missionaries who arrived in Zambia in the late 19th century, and it was well adapted to Zambian religiosity was easily adopted by Zambians because of their existing sense of religiosity. The London Mission Society (LMS) was the first Christian organisation to establish a mission in Zambia in 1885, followed by the Paris Evangelical Mission Society (1892), Primitive Methodist mission (1892), Presbyterian mission (1894), Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in 1900, and Anglican mission (1911). The largest Protestant church to date, the United Church in Zambia (UCZ) formed as an amalgamation in 1965.

Fourth, the formation of Christian mission stations by the European missionaries after Dr. David Livingstone, would eventually result in the rise of independent churches in Zambia. The Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were more tolerant towards aspirations for independence and nationalist views than the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches and Roman Catholic Churches. It was not surprising that many of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were banned in Zambia.

Having summarised the emergence of traditional Protestant and Catholic Churches, and accounted for the birth of Independent Churches, the next chapter, will focus on the emergence of Pentecostalism as a movement in Zambia.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF PENTECOSTALISM IN ZAMBIA

5.0. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an accurate historical account of the emergence, evolution and development of the Pentecostalism in Zambia, synthesising with and ordering extant accounts. There are seven sections. The first covers the early developments that set the stage for the emergence of Pentecostalism in Zambia. The second describes the emergence of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia, analyses the factors involved in their growth, assesses the role that the prophetess Alice Lenshina played in the development of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches and explores the growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in the 1990s, 2000s and thereafter. Section 5.3 describes how the Classical Pentecostal Churches began in Zambia, evaluates the factors in the growth of the Classical Pentecostal churches, and identifies and assesses the important players between the 1950s and 1970s. Section 5.4 examines the growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches in the 2000s to 2010s and thereafter. Section 5.5 clarifies the 1980s and 1990s environment in which the Neo-Pentecostal Churches emerged and how these churches began, evaluates the factors that furthered these churches, and gives an assessment of the growth of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the year 2000 and 2010 and thereafter. Section 5.6 discusses and considers Dr. Nevers Mumba's role in the growth, evolution and stabilisation of Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia, with the conclusion of the chapter in Section 5.7.

5.1. The Early Developments that Set the Stage for the Emergence of Pentecostalism in Zambia

It is important to state from the outset that an appreciation of the local origins of Zambian Pentecostalism does not imply a total absence of external contact. Henkel argues that "the seed of Pentecostal Christianity in Zambia were sown when the country was administered by the British Colonial Administration (1890-1924) when European Christian missionary efforts of both the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries in nearly all parts of the country began."[122] Clearly, the expressions of Protestantism and Pentecostalism present in modern Zambia originally arrived because of missionary work. As M'fundisi contends, "it was due to the missionary activities of Dr. David Livingstone that led to the formation of the Christian mission stations and churches which resulted in the emergence of the African Independent Churches (AICs) in Zambia."[123]

As most scholars of Pentecostalism have conceded, it is vital that a viable Pentecostal self-understanding must take note of the historical roots of any Pentecostal movement.[124] Only against the backdrop of the worldwide expansion of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity, can the local version of Zambian Pentecostalism be understood, alongside the context of the socio-cultural and religious environment within which they emerged and developed. Questions about how Zambian Pentecostalism conforms to the thinking and wider structures of Zambian society are crucial, because the Zambian people turn to philosophical concepts

[122] Henkel, *Christian Missions in Africa*, 23-29.
[123] See Naar M'fundisi, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Spiritualities and Civic Engagement in Zambia, 1964-2012."
[124] For example, Anderson notes that "most recently, scholars have began to stress the 'polycentric' origins of Pentecostalism. Recognising not only antecedents in the Western Awakenings and Holiness Movement but also a number of Pentecostal precursors elsewhere." See, Allan Anderson, "Varieties, Taxonomies and Definitions," in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson, et al., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 25.

and to God to draw out their principles and norms of good and evil.[125] Bediako emphasises that "we cannot understand the fortunes of Christianity in Africa if we totally ignore the impact of the continent's primal religious background."[126] Indeed, some seventy-seven percent of interviewees revealed that Prophetic Pentecostal-type of Churches should be located within the religious and cultural contexts in Zambia in the 1940s and early 1950s. Therefore, to obtain insights into the emergence of Pentecostalism, it is necessary to outline the general cultural and religious contexts in which indigenous Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity arose in the nation of Zambia.[127]

Carmody writes that "the European Christian missionaries had a rigid approach that ensured that Christian doctrine and orthodoxy was declared. As a result, Zambian traditions, religion and culture were undermined by the European missionaries."[128] Furthermore, Chabu observes that "even though European mission churches have been working in Zambia since the 1880s, the religious landscape reflected forms of worship and styles which did not consider the African/Zambian philosophical ideals adequately."[129] Although many Zambians during the late 1930s and early 1960s possessed a strong inclination towards Christianity, the majority

[125] See Placide Tempels, "Bantu Philosophy: Placide Tempels Revisited," *JRA*, vol. xiii, no. 2 (1982): 76-87.
[126] Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 192.
[127] Turner writes that "in recent years, the study of African societies has achieved a remarkable vitality. Political and socio-economic concerns have dominated the new historiography. Religion, especially missionary history, has benefited from this new awareness. The urgent task of the Church historian is, therefore, to produce literature that will tell a coherent story of the history of the Church in Africa based on the available findings. It is recognised that the goal of Church history in Africa now is to study how communities which had their own religions, and viable instruments of social order came into contact with new religious forms such as Pentecostalism for instance, and the variety of ways in which they reacted to the external agents of change. Arguably, it is no longer possible to assume that Africa received Christianity passively." See Philip Turner, "The Wisdom of the Fathers and the Gospel of Christ: Some Notes on Christian Adaptation in Africa," *JRA*, vol. iv (1971): 45-68.
[128] Brendan Carmody, "The Nature and Role of Christian Conversion in Zambia," *IJ SCC*, vol. 7, no. 2 (May 2007): 109-133.
[129] See Bwalya S. Chabu, *A History of Early Christian Missions and Church in Zambia* (Ndola: Mission Press, 2005), 36.

still believed in the African Traditional Religions (ATRs).[130] Larbi argues that "at the heart of the African culture lies the worldview of how Africans as a people perceive, understand and interpret reality; thus, the notion of a supreme God is the most minimal and fundamental idea found in almost all African societies."[131] Gerloff asserts that "in Africa, God is not seen as a philosophical proposition or an anaemic thought, but he is seen as an imminent and transcendent life-giving Spirit."[132] During the late 1930s and early 1960s, nearly all the seventy-three ethnic Zambian tribal groups[133] affirmed that God was life and that he had the power to heal, transform, save as well as destroy.[134]

It was not surprising that eighty-six percent of interviewees claimed that during the late 1930s and beyond, nearly all the ethnic Zambian tribal groups strongly believed that both the physical and spiritual realms were not separated from each other. It can be validly stated that all the seventy-three Zambian tribal groups shared the African Traditional Religions' worldview that there is no event that is not influenced by the gods, ancestral spirits, or even witches.[135] As Hiebert notes, "such a worldview expressed hopes and fears in a culture,

[130] See Gorge C. Bond, "Ancestors and Protestants: Religious Co-existence in the Social Field of a Zambian Community," *American Ethnologist*, vol. 14, no. 1 (1987): 55-72.
[131] See Emmanuel K. Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity* (Dansoman, Accra: Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies, 2001), 27.
[132] See Roswith I. H. Gerloff, "A Plea for British Black Theologies: The Black Church Movement in Britain in Its Transatlantic Cultural and Theological Interaction," *Studies in Intercultural History of Christianity*, 77 (Frankfurt am Main/ New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 61.
[133] The Zambian society is heterogeneous in nature with 73 ethnic tribal groups – the Ambo, Aushi, Bemba, Bisa, Chewa, Chikunda, Cishinga, Chokwe, Gova, Ila, Ngoni, Iwa, Kabende, Kaonde, Kosa, Kundai, Kwandi, Kwandu, Kwangwa, Lala, Lamba, Lenje, Leya, Lima, Liyuwa, Lozi, Luano, Luchazi, Lumbu, Lunda, Lundwe, Lungu, Luunda, Luvale, Makoma, Mambwe, Mashasha, Mashi, Mbowe, Mbukuahu, Mbumi, Mbunda, Mbwela, Mukulu, Mulonga, Namwanga, Ndembu, Ng'umbo, Nkoya, Nsenga, Nyenga, Nyika, Sala, Senga, Shanjo, Shila, Simaa, Soli, Subiya, Swaka, Swahili, Tabwa, Tambo, Toka, Tonga, Totela, Tumbuka, Twa, Unga, Wandya and Yombe. Barrett estimates that "about ninety-eight percent of the population in Zambian belong to the eight major ethnic groups; the Bemba, Kaonde, Lunda, Luvale, Lozi, Nyanja, Mambwe and Tonga." See D. T. Barrett, "Civic Society and Democracy: A Zambian Case Study," *JSAS*, vol. 26 (2000): 429-446.
[134] Just like other African tribal peoples, Zambian tribal people call God as their Supreme Being, the causative agent and the Sustainer of life. See for example, Joe M. Kapolyo, *The Human Condition: Christian Perspectives Through African Eyes* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2005), 125-129.
[135] See P. Elkins, "Case Studies: A Pioneer Team in Zambia, Africa," *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, eds. R. D. Winter and S. C. Hawthorne (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), 668-672.

provided cognitive foundations on which to base understanding, justifies belief systems and provides people with maps of reality by structuring their perceptions."[136] All the one hundred and fifteen interviewees stated that in during the 1930s and 1940s in Zambia, the basic belief in ancestral spirits was based on the trust that the spirits would deliver what was asked of them. It was not surprising then that the sense of confidence in ancestral spirits is so powerful that personal character and ethics remain linked to ancestral spiritual influence, resulting in people living ritually directed lives.[137] Furthermore, all the one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that during the late 1930s and 1940s, all the seventy-three ethnic Zambian tribal groups had a teleological conception of reality whereby they saw reality as hanging together, influenced by the hierarchy of beings, the top of which was God the omnipotent, followed by the spirits, and lower still, ordinary people.[138]

One implication of this religious-centred existence is that there was no dualism between matter and mind, soul and spirit, because the dead were thought to influence the lives of the living. Hence, any belief in things happening by accident was rare, because the world of the living and the dead were so closely intertwined, and in most cases, were merged into one.[139] Eighty percent of interviewees claimed that during the 1930s and 1940s, the understanding of spirits became one of the main reasons why Independent African Churches especially the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches emphasised the work of the Holy Spirit in one's life. It is important to state here, that it was during this period that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches managed to glean notions from this Zambian religious-cultural

[136] See Paul G. Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 84.
[137] The belief is that there are good and evil spirits capable of influencing personhood. See Yoweri K. Museveni, *What is Africa's Problem?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992 and 2000), 173-174.
[138] See John S. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (London: SPCK, 1970), 12.
[139] See Lesiba J. Teffo and Abraham P. J. Roux, "Themes in African Metaphysics," in *The African Philosophy Reader*, eds. P. H. Coetzee and A. J. P. Roux (London: Routledge, 2003), 161-174.

soil, whereby including the understanding of spirits became one of the major reasons why these church grew rapidly and escalated in a relatively short time.[140] On that basis, this study maintains that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia drew their inspiration from traditional African religiosity which was an attempt to Africanise the Christianity that they had received from European sources.[141] To use the language of revivalism, since the late 1930s, Zambia has been engaged in a continuous encounter with Pentecostal-Charismatic fires and the emergence of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches was the most obvious product of that intensely creative process.[142]

5.2. EMERGENCE OF THE PROPHETIC AND PENTECOSTAL-TYPE OF CHURCHES

All hundred and fifteen interviewees explained that the African Independent Churches (AICs) especially the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were established for more than ten years, if not fifteen, before classical Pentecostalism emerged in Zambia. Furthermore, the interviewees extensively claimed that the initial emergence of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches throughout the late 1930s and 1940s remained invisible to many observers because these churches often started in villages and they did not have the resources to inscribe themselves on the Zambian religious landscape. It was not surprising that nearly eighty-five percent of interviewees insisted that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of churches belonged to the '*first wave*' of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in Zambia. Half

[140] See Allan Anderson, "Pentecostal Pneumatology and African Power Concepts: Continuity or Change?" *Missionalia*, vol. 19 (1990): 65-74.
[141] See Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, 65.
[142] Ter Haar suggests that "it is more accurate to refer to African Pentecostal-Charismatic movements as the outcome of a creative process of independent church formation which fits with traditional social pattern and is considered by Christians to be the direct result of the work of the Holy Spirit." See Gerrie Ter Haar, *Halfway to Paradise: African Christians in Europe* (Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998), 94.

of the interviewees further revealed that most of the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were consciously seeking to experience and affirm the active presence of the Holy Spirit as part of their everyday normal Christian expression. According to seventy-five percent of interviewees, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were the precursors to the modern Pentecostal brand of classical and Neo-Pentecostal churches in Zambia. The interviewees' classification of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches as precursors to classical and Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia is based on a shift in the understanding of Pentecostalism from a rigid doctrinal categorisation linked to speaking in tongues as the initial physical evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit to the broad and fluid interpretation as the experience of the working of the Holy Spirit and the practice of spiritual gifts.[143]

In pointing out the emergence of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, sixty-eight percent of interviewees acknowledged that its emergence followed two patterns. Firstly, it was observable that as the European Christian missionaries preached the Gospel, and Scripture was being translated into some local languages,[144] a situation of dissatisfaction was being created which promoted an intense search for a deeper dimension of the Christian faith by Zambians who were able to read the Bible for themselves. The resultant effect was the spontaneous emergence of the form of 'Pentecostal-Charismatic' and 'Spirit churches' such as the African Gospel Church (AGC), the African National Church (ANC), the Apostles of Zion Church (AZC), the Apostolic Faith Church – the Holy Gospel Church (HGC) and the

[143] See Robert M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979), 4.
[144] This was similar to what transpired in Ghana according to Onyinah. See Opoku Onyinah, "Akan Witchcraft and the Concept of Exorcism in the Church of Pentecost," (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, UK, 2002), 124-125.

Central Africa Church (CAC),[145] and this led to the notion of the 'Pentecostalisation'[146] of Zambian Christianity. The implication behind the Pentecostalisation of Zambian Christianity was that many of these Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were 'Pentecostal' in character, with special emphasis on the manifestations of the supernatural in form of healing, exorcism, anointing and empowerment. These indigenous churches reclaimed what was supposed to be the African spiritualistic worldview, seeing the world as charged with the supernatural. Secondly, it was observable during the late 1930s and 1940s, that most Zambians' aspirations for salvation in which health, prosperity, fertility, security and equilibrium within the cosmos were not being met in most local Zambian Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches, such as the Methodist Church, Anglican Church and Presbyterian Church. As a result, Zambia witnessed the emergence especially in the North-East of Zambia of local prophetic groups such as the Nchimi ('*Diviner*' or '*Healer*'), the Mutumwa ('*Apostle*') and the Lumpa ('*exiling all others' or 'to be superior'*) movement. These three churches were officially registered as Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in 1972.

Dillion-Malone explains that "the Nchimi, Mutumwa and Lumpa movement originally started as experimental and witch-finding groups and their members were generally referred to as the '*people of the Spirit*' due to their emphasis on the Spirit of God, the spiritual gifts especially prophecy, the seeing of visions, prayer and fasting, divine healing and exorcising demons"[147] while Gordon argues that "although the Nchimi and Mutumwa in the popular mind, they were at times considered as sects, and were not associated with

[145] See Mutenda, *A History of the Christian Brethren (Christian Missions in Many Lands – CMML) in Zambia*, 8.
[146] The term 'Pentecostalisation' as used by Asamoah-Gyadu refers to a process of renewal or revival of the Mainstream Protestant and Mission Churches in order to accommodate Pentecostal practices as a direct impact of Pentecostalism on them. See, Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "From Prophetism to Pentecostalism: Religious Innovation in Africa and African Religious Scholarship," *RIAARS* (2012): 2162-2173.
[147] Dillion-Malone, "The Mutumwa Church of Peter Mulenga," *JRA*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1987): 2-31.

Pentecostalism."[148] It was not surprising that the older African Independent Churches (AICs), to which the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches belonged, were initially not fully accepted by Evangelicals and the general public due to their alleged syncretistic beliefs and practices. However, eighty-seven percent of interviewees argued that what was clear about the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches was that, for them, experience and practice were far more important than dogma. Nearly ninety-two percent of interviewees asserted that many of the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were discriminated against because they were sects, but still grew at a rapid rate nationwide.

For instance, by the late 1940s and early 1960s, the presence of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia were being noted from the Northern Province to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Zimbabwean and Malawian borders. The Lumpa Church became the largest of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches and continued to grow rapidly. For instance, Buter claims that "by 1955, the Lumpa Church had about one hundred and fifty thousand strong church members, and eventually became the single largest local Pentecostal-Charismatic church in most sections of the Zambian communities,"[149] although the exact numbers of people who joined the Lumpa church are not clear.[150] Turning to the historiography of ordinary people interviewed, a high ninety-seven percent of interviewees insisted that although the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were a

[148] Gordon reports that "by 1967, the Nchimi and Mutumwa were subsequently fragmented into 'secret sects,' and were increasingly withdrawn from the Zambian society." See Gordon, "The UNIP-Lumpa Conflict Revisited," 45-76.
[149] Margaret W. M. Buter, *Prophetess Alice Lenshina, God's African Commander: Her Generational Blessings and Legacy* (London: Tremendous Wealth Publishers, 2011), 11.
[150] For example, the Colonial authorities have estimated that "about sixty thousand people had made a pilgrimage to visit Prophetess Lenshina by the end of 1955." See 'Reports of the Lenshina Movement, 1955-1956, n.d.' National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), NP 3/12/3. The District Commissioner (DC) of Chinsali estimates that "about ninety-five percent of all the residents of the district were Prophetess Lenshina's supporters. See Gordon, "Rebellion or Massacre? UNIP-Lumpa Conflict Revisited," 45-76 and Hugo Hinfelaar, "Women's Revolt: The Lumpa Church of Lenshina Mulenga in the 1950s," *JRA*, vol. 2, Fasc. 2 (May 1991):12ff.

rather loose group of local Pentecostal-Charismatic churches, which emerged and found inspiration through the activity of the Spirit of God. This was even more reason why these Prophetic Pentecostal-type of Churches flourished all over Zambia prior to the emergence of classical Pentecostalism.[151]

5.2.1. Factors in the Growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches

This section identifies and discusses some of the main factors that furthered the growth of Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. The analysis of the narratives considers the significance of the short-comings in the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches, the quest for salvation and wholeness and the desire to know how to relate to the 'Spirit world' as factors in the growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia.

5.2.1.1. Short-comings in the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches

Almost all interviewees (114 out of 115) claimed that the nature of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches and their theologies addressed the then concurrent realities of the late 1930s, 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. These decades were a period of cultural and political activity for the nation of Zambia, which was yet to be politically independent. While seventy-four percent of interviewees claimed that during the 1940s and early 1960s most Zambians were looking for ways of expressing themselves economically, culturally, politically and religiously, unfortunately, the political, social and ecclesiastical institutions were failing to

[151] The Prophetess Lenshina-led Lumpa movement for instance, spread rapidly and had branches on the Copperbelt and along the line of rail. See Northern Rhodesia Political Intelligence Report (February-March 1956) National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), NP 3/12/3.

meet the aspirations of the majority of Zambian people. This claim by the interviewees is in line with Chalwe's statement that:

> During the colonial period in Zambia, the ecclesiastical enterprise to which Zambians people looked, largely failed to provide a platform for them to express themselves spiritually and culturally. Thus, it was not surprising that most Zambians felt deprived spiritually in most mainstream missionary and Roman Catholic churches. As a result, the African Independent Churches (AICs) were started by the local people.[152]

Almost all interviewees (111 out of 115) alleged that during the pre-independence days in Zambia, the style of worship, belief, mission and services in most of Zambian's Mainstream Mission Churches and Catholic Churches remained the same as those of their founding bodies in Europe. This interviewees' contention is supported by Chalwe who writes that "even when some of their 'mother churches' in Europe for example, were undergoing some internal ecclesiastical changes, almost all the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches and Catholic Churches in Zambia, like other African countries kept the same archaic ecclesiastical traditions."[153] Furthermore, Chuba observes that "even though the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches and the Roman Catholic Churches had been operating in Zambia since 1889, the religious landscape in these churches reflected forms of worship and styles which did not consider the Zambian/African philosophical ideas adequately."[154] Noticeably, as 'Spirit movements,' the Zambian Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were very quick to react as Clark clarifies "to this form of formalism of orthodoxy as was the case with other earlier Enthusiastic Groups of the second to the nineteenth centuries."[155]

---

[152] Adriano Chalwe, *Contextualisation*, 39.
[153] Chalwe, *Contextualisation*, 39.
[154] See Bwalya S. Chuba, *A History of Early Christian Missions and Church Unity in Zambia* (Ndola: Mission Press, 2005), 12-19.
[155] Clark clarifies that "the distinctive marks of Enthusiastic Groups have been transported particularly into Pentecostalism including among others, Montanism of the 2nd century, Mysticism from the 12th and 13th centuries, Anabaptists from the 6th century, the later Reformation and Pietism from the 17th century, Methodism from the 18th century, the American Revivalism and the Holiness Movements from the 19th century. All these Spirit Movements arose in reaction to the stagnation, intellectualism, dead formalism and absence of the experiential which characterised many orthodox churches over many centuries." See Mathew. S. Clark and

Interviewees stated that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia were successful at dealing with issues very much like the ones one may find in traditional shrines. These churches dealt with everything that concerned people and dominated the Zambian religion and ritual practices. Furthermore, interviewees revealed that the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were able to affirm that God was resurrecting, reviving and was able quicken people's lives. Hence, M'fundisi contends that:

> The leaders of the African Independent Churches (AICs) in Zambia did not shun Christianity altogether, but rather endeavoured to retain the African flavour and idiom within their ecclesiology and liturgy (a worldview that is innately African) which was down trodden by European Christian missionaries; and this was not a spiritual connection that engaged ancestral worship and the veneration of ancient spirits, but rather a connection to the Spirit of God.[156]

Chuba writes that "at the time when the mainstream missionary and Catholics churches in Zambia were simply dismissing witchcraft as a figment of folk imagination or psychological delusion, African Independent Churches (AICs) armed with the experience of the Holy Spirit, felt empowered to help deliver people from evil spirits – the access to the experiences of the Spirit had an amazing empowering effect on local Zambian population."[157] Thus, it is fair to state that the tremendous growth experience by the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches especially in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s was largely attributed to precisely the same short-comings in the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches, as well as the Roman Catholics churches.

Henry I. Lederle, at el. *What is Distinctive About Pentecostal Theology?* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1989), 144.

[156] See M'fundisi, *Pentecostal and Charismatic Spiritualities*, 1.

[157] Chuba, *A History of Early Christian Missions*, 12-19.

5.2.1.2. Desire to Relate to the 'Spirit World'

In general, Zambians have been made aware of the invisible or unseen world from childhood. Hence most of them would have perceived the physical world as the consequence of the invisible world which governed the physical world. Therefore, it was not surprising that ninety-nine percent of interviewees affirmed that during this period, most Zambians had a strong belief that it was the *nga'angas* (the traditional healers) that had the power to counteract the evil forces and to reverse any affliction they caused in people's lives. Therefore, the *nga'angas* were the ones who were empowered to interact with the 'Spirit world' and that only they were empowered to bring about spiritual and physical solutions to desperately needy people. In colonial days, the *nga'angas* were seen by many Zambian tribal groups as a gift to their communities, not least because they were positioned between the visible and 'Spirit world' in which the ancestors resided. However, interviewees claimed that during this period, the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were able to challenge this African Traditional Religions' belief by simply teaching people that God's power surpassed the *nga'angas* power and that believers can access God's power through God's Holy Spirit. Arguably, it was this kind of teaching that attracted many Zambians to join the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. According to Griffin, "the teaching in belief in the capacity of the Spirit of God to bring about divine healing; whether physical, emotional or mental, became one of the hallmarks of the African Independent Churches (AICs) in Zambia."[158]

[158] The innate nature of Pentecostal spirituality and worship renders itself naturally to the issue of spirits. Griffin attributes this to what he calls the "African Source,' the African participation in the beginning of the history of the Church in Africa." See W. A. Griffin, *Pentecostal Theology: Roots and Offshoots* (notes on Pentecostal Theology, Toronto, Pentecostal Assemblies of God Headquarters, 2007), 183.

In this regard, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches echoed the post-modern Pentecostals insistence on the holistic understanding of the body-mind relationship. Furthermore, interviewees claimed that most of the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were able to come up with some ways of tapping into the capacity of the Holy Spirit. In this way, they managed to bring about spiritual, emotional and physical healing to many people in the nation of Zambia. It was not surprising that through this, the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were able to witness to the Gospel in a highly spiritualised environment in which recognition of the powers of evil was evident everywhere. These leaders fully understood the African cosmology and tailored their message to address the felt needs of the local people in Zambia. According to the interviewees, the felt needs of Zambian people then was usually portrayed in terms of their desire to want to know how to fully relate to the spirit world with a view of overcoming the evil spirits that threatened human life in their local environments, hence enabling them to enjoy life to its fullest extent.[159]

Interviewees asserted that the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches adopted specific features from Zambian culture which included the use of prayer and consultation often through visions and prophecy. As Wilson asserts, "religious contextualisation stressing commonalities in Pentecostalism and indigenous religious beliefs regarding the 'Spirit world' renders itself naturally open to the issue of spirits and this becomes part of Pentecostalism's local appeal."[160] Indeed, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were embraced by most Zambians because they helped them to relate to the

[159] What was taken to be fullness or enjoyment of life was usually taken to be the enjoyment of life in its fullness was long life and material prosperity represented by such things as having children, good health, and wealth.
[160] See E. A. Wilson, "Brazil," in the *NIDPCM*, 38-39.

'Spirit world.' Undoubtedly, one of the main contributing factors to the growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s was the response of these groups to the spiritual needs of ordinary Zambian people. Interviewees asserted that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches shared the traditional worldview in the belief in and influence of the spiritual realm over the affairs of the physical sphere. That was why dreams, visions and trances were regarded as spiritual phenomena and taken seriously as they were indicative of what was happening. It was this resonance between the biblical, Zambian/African traditional worldviews that provided a fertile ground for the germination, growth and thriving of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia.

5.2.1.3. Quest for Salvation and Wholeness

Nearly ninety-two percent of interviewees claimed that a correlation between the pursuit of salvation and wholeness provided the basis for understanding why the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia grew. As Afrong writes, "the concept of, and the quest for salvation is believed to be at the root of all religions and all forms of religious expressions."[161] It may be significant to suggest here that cultural identity can be identified as the 'well-spring' of all the various concepts and forms of expression, particularly in this case, the biblical and the Christian expression of salvation affecting all geographical areas of Christian majority, if not minority. Afrong also notes that the "eventual redemption of the soul from eternal damnation has historically and contemporarily continued to be appropriated through traditional, cultural and local mediums."[162] Phiri writes that "Zambian communities are, to a large extent, health-oriented societies, and in indigenous religious rituals for healing,

[161] A. Afrong, "*Salvation in African Christianity*," Paper presented to students at Central University College, Accra, Ghana, 18-19.
[162] Afrong, *Salvation in African Christianity*, 1.

prosperity and protection are prominent. Healing and protection from evil are among the most prominent features of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic message, and are probably the most important part of the liturgy in their evangelism and recruitment."[163] A substantial ninety percent of interviewees revealed that in the 1940s and 1950s, leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches placed emphasis on salvation, healing and wholeness, and from their inception, nearly all these leaders recognised the power of the African worldview and crafted a 'theology' of salvation in response to Zambians' need for spiritual salvation. As many as forty-nine percent of interviewees volunteered the specific observation that leaders of these Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches used to quote 1 Timothy 2:4, and taught that God did not withhold salvation or divine/spiritual healing from anyone, because of the inclusive atoning work of Jesus Christ on the cross.[164]

Just over half of the interviewees (59 out of 115) contested that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches at a time were characterised by a material view of salvation, because the leaders of these churches did not merely view salvation as a spiritual reality that touched people's inner being, but as something that involved health, prosperity, fertility, security, and equilibrium within the cosmos. As this study has revealed, it should not be surprising, that most Zambians warmly welcomed the message of salvation that was being preached by the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, because of the way they incorporated the restoration of the physical well-being of individuals and communities into their preaching. A significant proportion, fifty-seven percent of

[163] See Jason K. Phiri, "African Spirituality: A Study of the Emerging African Pentecostal Churches in Zambia," (PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2009), 23.
[164] Volf notices that "generally, most Pentecostals connect divine healing to the atoning work of Christ on the cross." See Miroslav Volf, "Materiality of Salvation: An Investigation in the Soteriologies of Liberation and Pentecostal Theologies," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, vol. 26, no. 3 (1989): 447-467.

interviewees, claimed that spiritual healing especially became the 'heart beat' of the liturgy and the entire religious life of the most of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Hence, it is not surprising to hear that these churches' message of spiritual healing and deliverance not only attracted many people, but also liberated many from sickness and evil spirits.[165] As Anderson affirms, "prayer for divine healing is perhaps the most universal characteristic of the many varieties of Pentecostalism, and perhaps the main reason for its growth in the developing world."[166]

5.3. Important Role Player: Prophetess Alice Lenshina and Her Activities

A larger proportion, sixty-nine percent of interviewees, identified Prophetess Alice Lenshina as one of the earliest local prophetic figures in the nation. These interviewees regarded her as the first and most well known among the independent prophetess-preacher prayer-healing evangelists that arose in the context of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in Zambia. Prophetess Lenshina's significant input to the growth of localised Zambian Pentecostalism will be recounted and examined in this section.

[165] See Phiri, *African Pentecostal Spirituality*, 23.
[166] Allan Anderson, *Introduction to Global Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 30.

Plate 1: Prophetess Alice Lenshina
Source: Micokhan.com

The general history of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches has arguably been significantly influenced by the famous Lumpa Church of prophetess Alice Lenshina. According to half of the interviewees, Lenshina, the spiritual leader of the Lumpa movement, with the help of her husband established a viable independent church, with a strong hierarchy of priests, operating largely in rural areas. According to the Zambian Government Report, "Alice Mulenga Lubusha 'Regina' or Lenshina (1920-1978) was associated with the 1950s and 1960s local Pentecostal-Charismatic revivals in Zambia."[167] The prophetess was situated in the lower end of the social scale, having only a limited education. She was an inspired hymn composer who gathered many people around her. In many ways, Lenshina could be one of the earliest recognised local Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic prophetesses. Charton reports that "while a candidate for baptism in the Presbyterian Church in 1953, prophetess Lenshina received a vision of Jesus Christ, in which she was taken up to heaven, and ordered to destroy all forms of witchcraft, which was seen as a pressing danger to the wider Zambian

[167] This Zambian Government Report highlights that Lenshina was a very successful prophetess who brought about spiritual awakening in Zambia during the 1950s and 1960s. See Zambian Government Report 3, "Lumpa Rebels Not to Be Punished," East Africa and Rhodesia-Zambia (August 20, 1964), 7.

society."[168] According to Buter "the turning point for prophetess Lenshina came when she was about thirty-three years old; after contracting cerebral malaria in 1953, the prophetess slipped into a deep coma and when her family and friends started preparing for her burial in Kasomo Village, to the surprise of all, she fully recovered."[169] According to Hinfelaar, "Lenshina's stories of a 'heavenly encounter' with Jesus Christ who called her to be a prophetess, and to live up to her new name, Lenshina (*Queen*), and after this perplexing encounter with Jesus Christ, Lenshina was convinced that God had appointed her to be an apostle, a prophetess and a Gospel singer to her people in Chansali District and to all the Zambian people countrywide and the prophetess founded a local revivalist prophetic movement, the Lumpa, of which she officially became '*Lenshina*' or '*Queen*' and the prophetess' emphasis on spiritual empowerment became one of her tools for new orientation to life, and for building a new community."[170] On the other hand, Charton reports that:

> A revival gathered around Lenshina as she shared her testimony of her near-death experience, and how Jesus Christ commissioned her as a prophetess; and the most outstanding features of Lenshina's revivals were a call to repentance, the eradication of witchcraft and a strong emphasis on millennialism – and the prophetess was able to demonstrate the transforming power of the Holy Spirit on Zambian social customs and traditions.[171]

The interviewees claimed that Lenshina's local prophetic movement successfully organised itself into an independent Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic church called the Lumpa Church and was registered under the Societies Ordinance of 1957. Lenshina declared her own home village Kasomo as a new Sion or Zion, meaning, 'the city of God.' According to Buter, "she built the Cathedral at Kasomo, the people were healed, miraculous signs and wonders took place, and people were delivered from evil forces nearly every day; as a result, the

[168] See Lislie Charton, *Sparks in the Stubble: Colin Morit of Zambia* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), 130.
[169] Buter, *Prophetess Alice Lenshina*, 23-34.
[170] Hinfelaar, *Women's Revolt,* 99.
[171] Charton, *Spark in the Stubble*, 130.

prophetess' ministry and the Lumpa Church grew to apostolic proportions, with signs, wonders, healings and the evidence of God's power being superior to any other counterfeit powers; and that by all accounts given by her contemporaries, it was clear that Lenshina was indeed a woman of strong convictions and a very good preacher of God's word."[172]Arguably, this prophetess' preaching had great impact on the early days of local Pentecostal-Charismatic revivalism in Zambia during the 1950s and early 1960s. Like all the African Independent Churches' revival movements before it, Lenshina's revival phenomenon appeared schismatic and divisive to some observes. Nevertheless, there were some marked benefits for this prophetess' prophetic movement in having some roots in the Evangelical Presbyterian missionary denomination. Lenshina broke away from the Presbyterian Church because she felt that she had a special ministry and was a gifted composer of Bemba hymns. Within a short period after emerging, Lenshina's Lumpa movement had a quick conquest over the mainstream Protestant missionary and Catholics churches, because of the superiority of the prophetess' Spirit-inspired hymns over the stiff translations that were used in most of the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches in Zambia.

Smart writes that "Prophetess Lenshina's Lumpa movement was at the time considered as an eschatological oriented movement."[173] Hence, the Lenshina-led Lumpa movement was able to attract hundreds of thousands of followers who formed a utopian community to wait for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Colonial authorities estimated that more than sixty thousand people made a pilgrimage to visit prophetess Lenshina by the end of 1955.[174] The District Commissioner (DC) of Chinsali estimated that about ninety-five percent of all the

[172] Buter, *Prophetess Alice Lenshina*, 11-20.
[173] See Ninian Smart, *The World's Religions: Old Traditions and Modern Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 527.
[174] This is according to the Report of Lenshina's Movement, 1955/6.

residents of Chinsali Districts were prophetess Lenshina's supporters.[175] Furthermore, Hinfelaar reports that "by 1955, the prophetess Lenshina's Lumpa movement had also spread in the Eastern province, especially Lundazi District, and had over one hundred thousand adherents"[176] while Buter suggests that "by the end of 1950s, the Lenshina-led movement had over one hundred and fifty thousand strong church members from around Chinsali District and beyond." Unsuprisingly, fifty-eight percent of interviewees believed that prophetess Lenshina was an important figure in the early growth of local Zambian Pentecostalism.

5.4. Growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in 1970s and 2000s and Thereafter

As many as seventy percent of interviewees were able to affirm that by the late 1970s, nearly all the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches had disintegrated. While Gordon observes that "by 1967, some of the African Independent Churches (AICs) namely, the Nchimi and Mutumwa were subsequently fragmented into 'secret sects' and were increasingly withdrawn from the Zambian society."[177] However, Auslander argues that "the African Independent Churches (AICs) especially the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches are not phenomenon of the past. These churches can still be found in many parts of Zambia, although today they are not collectively organised. In the 2000s and 2010s, the ministry of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches is usually carried out by individual prophets or prophetesses."[178]

[175] This is according to the DC's Report, 1956.
[176] Hinfelaar, *Women Revolt,* 121.
[177] See Gordon, *The UNIP-Lumpa Conflict Revisited*, 45-76.
[178] See M. Auslander, "'Open the Wombs!': The Symbolic Politics of Modern Ngoni Witch-Finding," in *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in the Post-Colonial Africa*, ed. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 167-192.

5.5. HOW THE CLASSICAL PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES GOT STARTED

Just under three quarters of interviewees understood that classical Pentecostalism in Zambia traces its historical roots to the impetus which was generated by European mission enterprise, and that it was the enduring fruit of European mission enterprise, that led to the establishment of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Zambia (PAOGZ),[179] the Apostolic Church in Zambia (ACZ),[180] the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia (AFMZ),[181] the Full Gospel Church (Church of God, Cleveland) and the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Zambia (PHCZ).[182] Chuba writes that:

> Zambia was the last field in Central-Southern Africa to be reached by Pentecostal missionary societies from the (and the so-called West), some approaching through its Southern border and others through its Northern border.... African visitors had been able to reach Southern and Central African countries more easily than they could reach land-locked Zambia from the East, the South and the West coast of Africa.[183]

[179] According to Chalwe, "the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, Zambia, whose roots are in the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Canada (PAOGC), had its first presence in Zambia in 1948. In 1955, a group of Pentecostal Assemblies of God missionaries mainly from South Africa and Canada arrived on the Copperbelt along the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) border consisting of several flourishing mining towns of Chililabombwe, Kitwe, Chingola, Mufulira, Luanshya and Ndola. These mining towns were about thirty miles apart. As a result, there were opportunities for the classical Pentecostal message and establishment of Assemblies as well as open doors for further missionary work in these mining towns and townships." For detailed account of the history of the PAOGZ, see Adriano Chalwe, "An Evaluation of the Missionary History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia" (PhD diss., North-West University, 2008).

[180] According to the ACZ Constitution (2010), "the Apostolic Church of Denmark (ACD) now the ACZ was established by the missionary trust from Denmark. The Danish Apostolic Church (DAC) was formerly established in 1924 after a period of Pentecostal Revival that came to Denmark as far as 1905. In 1957/1958, Danish Pentecostal missionary Elsa and Arne Thomsen who served as missionaries in South Africa and Nigeria opened up the ACZ in Luanshya on the Copperbelt, and later planted more churches in Central and Luapula provinces. Later in 1972, the Thomsens were joined by Clara Marie Petersen's brother John who set up a Pentecostal Bible College (now called Kaniki University College) in the Baluba Valley near Ndola on the Copperbelt in 1983." See Apostolic Church in Zambia Constitution (2010), 3-4.

[181] For detailed account of the history of the AFMZ , see J. Chibolela, "The Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia: A Historical Perspective Towards the Year 2000" (MA thesis, Living Waters Bible College, 2000); J. Nigrini, "AFM Church History" (Lecture Notes, Longacres, Lusaka, April 5, 2000); J. Mutume, "The Study of the History of the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe" (MTh thesis, Living Waters Bible College, 1999) and Rudolph de Wet Christian, "The Apostolic Faith Mission in Africa 1908-1980: A Case Study in Church Growth in a Segregated Society" (PhD diss., University of Cape Town, 1989).

[182] M'fundisi reports that "the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Zambia (PHCZ) was one of the earliest classical Pentecostal churches which exerted itself in Zambia. It entered Zambia via the American Pentecostal Holiness Church (APHC) which sent missionaries Brian and Carol Burgess to plant churches in Lusaka and the Copperbelt." For detailed account of the history of the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Zambia (PHCZ), see M'fundisi, *Pentecostal and Charismatic Spiritualities*.

[183] Chuba, *A History of Early Christian Missions*, 17-18.

Just over a quarter of the interviewees contested that the '*second wave*' of Pentecostal Christianity in Zambia had links with international classical Pentecostal missions. This reflects Kramer's assertion that "social theorists have rightly observed and pointed out that, the Pentecostal phenomenon is evidence of how increasingly connections in a global system between geographical distant societies have created the condition of possibility for modern phenomena such as Pentecostalism."[184] Chuba writes that:

> Zambia was the last field in Central-Southern Africa to be reached by Pentecostal missionary societies from the (and the so-called West), some approaching through its Southern border and others through its Northern border.... African visitors had been able to reach Southern and Central African countries more easily than they could reach land-locked Zambia from the East, the South and the West coast of Africa.[185]

It is not surprising that twenty-six percent of interviewees believed that classical Pentecostalism Zambia owes its origins to the missionary activity of the early international Pentecostal missionaries who were able to tap into the Pentecostal experience, which was particularly strong in the British Colonial Africa, especially in South Africa.[186]

[184] See E. Kramer, "Making Global Faith Universal: Media and a Brazilian Prosperity Movement," *Culture and Religion*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2002): 21-48.
[185] Chuba, *A History of Early Christian Missions,* 17-18.
[186] Wacker writes that "international Pentecostal missionaries were sent to more than fifty nations within two years after the emergence of global Pentecostal movement or the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in an African Methodist Chapel in Azusa Street, Los Angeles (LA) in 1906. By 1920, international Pentecostal missionaries attached to the earliest classical Pentecostal denominations in the United States of America, Canada, Britain and Sweden was already working in Sub-Saharan Africa. Most of these international Pentecostal missionaries first arrived in South Africa proclaiming their distinctive 'Full Gospel' of justification by faith, sanctification by the Holy Spirit, divine healing and the Second-Coming of Jesus Christ." See G. Wacker, Jnr., "Pentecostalism," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Transitions and Movements,* vol. 2, eds. Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams (New York: Charles Scribner's and Son, 1988), 933.

5.5.1. Important Role Players During the late 1950s and 1970s: Their Activities and Services

Analysis of the data from interviewees revealed that Joel Chidzakazi Phiri, Jack and Winsome Muggleton and Winston David Broomes were the key role players who promoted the 'Full Gospel' Pentecostal message in the early stages of classical Pentecostalism in Zambia.

5.5.1.1. Joel Chidzakazi Phiri

According to eighty-eight percent of interviewees, the ground for the rise of classical Pentecostalism in Zambia was cultivated by one of the most significant undercurrent developments, which followed Joel Chidzakazi Phiri coming to the country in the 1947. Chibolela writes that "the key principal individual for the introduction of the classical 'Full Gospel' Pentecostal message is traceable to Joel Chidzakazi Phiri whose ministry work typifies the classical Pentecostal Christianity of the nation of Zambia."[187] Phiri was born on 6th of September, 1903 in the Republic of South Africa (RSA), where he worked for a white South African family, who were members of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (AFMSA).[188] Due to the Apartheid regime and colour discrimination during that era, Phiri was not allowed to worship with white South African Pentecostal believers. Chibolela writes that:

> One day, while taking care of his South African employers' vehicles as well as listening to the preaching of God's word outside of the church building, the Holy Spirit touched and filled Phiri's heart. When his employers came outside to go back home

[187] See Chibolela, *The Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia*, 21.
[188] According to Chibolela, Samson Tembo affirmed that "this was Phiri's own personal testimony." See Chibolela, *The Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia*, 21.

> after the church service, they discovered that Phiri was laying on the floor fully under the power of the Holy Spirit and was speaking in other tongues and prophesying.[189]

From that time, Phiri was converted to Pentecostalism and in 1946, he had an opportunity to work with several white South African Apostolic Faith Mission Pentecostal evangelists. After one year's work with the Pentecostal evangelists, Phiri was asked to move to Zambia and spearhead mission work. Musonda explains that:

> Initially, Phiri came to Zambia in 1947 and worked in Kabwe as a miner. After a few years, he was asked to relocate to Mufulira on the Copperbelt to work with some white South African Apostolic Faith Mission classical Pentecostal missionaries who were already doing some work among the white South African expatriate communities.[190]

A significant fifty-one percent of interviewees recalled specifically that it was on the Copperbelt in Mufulira that Phiri started preaching the 'Full Gospel' classical Pentecostal message mainly on some ant-hills in the African mine townships. Chibolela writes that:

> Phiri's first Zambian convert was Siakonga who immediately after converting to classical Pentecostalism, invited all his relatives and friends who were also converted; and that from there on, Phiri ministered the Gospel and the Holy Spirit was upon him, and his ministry became powerful and his preaching was almost always accompanied by signs and wonders.[191]

Some seventy-nine percent of interviewees asserted that Phiri played a huge part in the raising of the generation that gave rise to the 1950s and 1960s Pentecostal Revivals in Zambia. Interviewees revealed that in keeping with his zeal and passion for soul winning,

---

[189] See Chibolela, *The Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia*, 21-22.

[190] Reverend Mark Sikapizye Musonda is one of the members of the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia (AFMZ) who has been in the church for a longer time than most contemporary AFMZ pastors. He has vivid memories of the AFMZ from his adolescent years. See Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), *Lusaka Urban Church Survey 2002: Exposing the Unevangelised Localities and People in Lusaka City* (Lusaka: EFZ/Dawn Ministries International, 2002), 16.

[191] Chibolela writes that "at Siakaonga's house, Phiri witnessed to Siakaonga's wife and won her for Christ, including Siakaonga's friends such as Simon Siame, Lightwell Siame, John Mwima, Edward Sikanyika and Best Manda. Chibolela goes further to report that "according to oral testimonies, Phiri could heal the sick and occasionally, he used to even raise the dead to life, and that some of his miracle stories can still be heard around Kasumpe today from people who lived during this period. See Chibolela, *The Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia*, 23.

Phiri adopted Pentecostal doctrine as his foremost task and emphasised church planting. It was not surprising given his motivation that in 1955, Phiri's ministry saw rapid growth nationally, whereupon, he even started to systematically ordain pastors and elders to help him propagate the 'Full Gospel' classical message nationwide. Consequently, Phiri was able to successfully plant hundreds of the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) churches in Mufulira, Kitwe, Ndola and other town and rural centres throughout Zambia.[192]

5.5.1.2. Jack and Winsome Muggleton

All interviewees concurred stating that Jack and Winsome Muggleton played leading roles in the establishment of classical Pentecostalism in Zambia. Miller claims that "classical Pentecostalism 'Full Gospel' message gained a foothold in Zambia through the efforts of Jack and Winsome Muggleton."[193] According to Chuba:

> After Jack Muggleton's conversion and release from the military service in 1947, he and Winsome began working with a Christian Mission in Main Lands (CMML) organisation in the Kapompo religion of Zambia where they learned the local Luvale language and launched out into full-time Christian evangelism. Jack and Winsome's regular circuits took them on long journeys through the bush to reach the tribal peoples, and after receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit, both Jack and Winsome decided to affiliate themselves with the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, Zambia.[194]

Under the advice and support of James Skinner, Jack and Winsome were asked to start a new Pentecostal Assemblies of God, Zambia (PAOGZ) mission station at Mwambashi near Kitwe on the Copperbelt.[195] In 1955, both Jack and Winsome successfully establish the Mwambashi Mission Station (MMS).[196] According to Emerson:

---

[192] See Chibolela, *The Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia*, 24-25.
[193] See T. W. Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of* Canada (Mississauga, Ontario: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994), 332-333.
[194] Chuba, *A History of Early Christian Missions*, 50-59.
[195] Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 332-333.
[196] Chalwe, *An Evaluation.*

> Jack and Winsome Muggleton were the first classical Pentecostal missionaries to be appointed by the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in 1958. Their missionary work was initially designed to evangelise and meet the spiritual needs of mainly the expatriate miners on the Copperbelt.[197]

According to interviewees, the Muggletons became the most prominent classical Pentecostal preachers among the elite expatriates as well as the young educated Zambians. However, in 1965, Jack and Winsome decided to shift their focus of promoting the 'Full Gospel' classical Pentecostal message from the elite sections of society to the ordinary people in mine townships and compounds. They also embarked on the rising and training of local Zambian Pentecostal leaders, who later continued promoting the classical Pentecostal message in various parts of Zambia.

5.5.1.3. Winston David Broomes

Plate 2: Gloria and David Winston Broomes

[197] Emerson recalls that "in 1955, a group of classical Pentecostal ministers from South Africa entered the cities and towns of the Copperbelt to work among the white people." See Emerson, *Venture Into Faith*, 79-80.

Source: graceassemblyac.com

Winston David Broomes and his wife Gloria were Caribbean missionaries with the Assemblies of God (AOG) from the West Indies. Upon their arrival in Zambia, both Gloria and Winston immediately got involved in the Pentecostal revival and camp meetings in various towns on the Copperbelt.[198] Chalwe writes that "with his passionate strong leadership drive, Winston Broomes started promoting 'Full Gospel' message amongst classical Pentecostals throughout Zambia. His contribution to the formulation of some classical Pentecostal theologies throughout the 1970s was massive."[199] All the one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that within a short period of time, Broomes become a likeable preacher and Bible teacher especially among the young Zambian people because of his effervescent, charismatic nature and his joyful enthusiasm. Chalwe reports that "as a preacher, Broomes strongly believed that the only way the 'Full Gospel' classical Pentecostal message was going to be promoted in Zambia was by mostly preaching it to the young people in high schools, colleges and universities."[200] Interviewees asserted that by promoting the 'Full Gospel' classical Pentecostal messages in churches, schools, colleges and universities, Broomes greatly helped to give the impetus to the 1970s Pentecostal revival in the nation of Zambia.

[198] According to Chalwe "Winston spent his childhood and school days in the West Indies, and during this time, he accepted the Lord Jesus Christ as his personal Saviour and Lord. During the latter part of the 1960s, God led him to Matriculate and studied at the West Indies School of Theology in Trinidad. Subsequently, his ministry developed as he entered enthusiastically in both evangelistic campaigns and other ministries in Barbados." See Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 42.
[199] Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 42-43.
[200] Chalwe observes that "Broomes did not neglect his call to reach out all Zambians of all ages." See, Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 43.

5.6. Elements in the Exponential Growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches between 1950s and 1970s

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees identified urban/rural internal migration ('*Amayendele*'), passionate and aggressive evangelism, cell or kinship circle meetings, lack of religious competition and Pentecostalism's appeal to young people as the key elements in the exponential growth of the growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches between the 1950s and late 1970s.

5.6.1. Urban/Rural Internal Migration ('*Amayendele*')

Cox states that "the success of Pentecostalism in converting massive numbers of people is clearly related to the opportunity it provides for the mediation of urbanisation."[201] This assertion holds true in the Zambian context, where interviewees revealed that at the end of colonisation in Zambia in October, 1964, Zambia saw a massive increase in the gross internal migration of people from rural areas into mining towns and cities. According to the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR), "during this period, Zambia became one of the most highly urbanised nations in Sub-Saharan Africa with an annual rate of urbanisation estimated at about 3.2%."[202] It was not surprising that interviewees claimed that the free movement of Zambians ('*Amayendele*') became one of the most important elements in the growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches between the 1950s and late 1970s. Elias Munshya wa Munshya writes that:

> The new independent nation of Zambia was formed with a clear goal in mind; that that was to be a free people, united under the banner of 'One Zambia, One Nation.'

[201] Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995), 176.
[202] Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR), "World Fact Book, 2012" accessed September 23, 2013, http://www.jctr.org.zm.

> Therefore, the slogan of 'Amayendele muno Zambia,' became one of the main 'battle cries' for Zambians before and immediately after political independence in October 1964. For most Zambians, '*Amayendele muno Zambia'* meant that as citizens of an independent Zambia, they all had liberty to travel anywhere, at any time across the length and breadth of the country.[203]

Weller and Liden write that "before political independence, the colonial British administrators never allowed or permitted the Zambian people to freely move from the rural areas into urban areas without passes ('*ifitupa'*), for the fear of crowding the cities and towns with squatter or shanty compounds."[204] It was poor infrastructure, limited job opportunities and high poverty levels in the rural areas, that forced many Zambians to migrate to cities and towns in search of employment and a better life.[205] All one hundred and fifteen interviewees stated that the accelerating speed of urbanisation became one of the platforms from which the Classical Pentecostal Churchesgrew during the mid-1960s and late 1970s. Interviewees asserted that as the population grew especially on the Copperbelt, the Classical Pentecostal Churches took full advantage of the situation and gained their ground. Chalwe observes that this "was noticeable that during this period while the Protestant and Mainstream Missionary Churches in rural areas were not obliged to follow their members who moved into the cities and towns.

For the Classical Pentecostal Churches, however, the urban dwellers became their main targets, and the rural dwellers were to be reached later."[206] According to all one hundred and

[203] Elias Munshya wa Munshya Blog, March 24, 2014, accessed March 25, 2014, http://www.eliasmunshya.org/2014/03/24/is-stella-shooting-at-shadows-hichilema-police-ig-libongani-amayendele.
[204] Weller and Linden observe that "the British South Africa Company (BSAC) gained possession of the territory of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) through the Lochner Concession in 1890. The construction of a railway link in the years between 1902 and 1906 exposed most Zambians to the wider world." See Jane Weller and John Linden, *Mainstream Christianity in Malawi, Zambian and Zimbabwe* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984), 31-32.
[205] Kenneth P. Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Africa* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 47, 53-112.
[206] Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 44.

fifteen interviewees, it was during this period of growth in the urban contexts, that the issues of culturally related aspects of Zambian Pentecostalism became observable. This interviewee claim is in line with Ojo who contends that:

> The African Pentecostal-Charismatic movement are finding ways of giving ultimate meaning to urban life by transforming the problems of the urban centres into bases for their sustenance. Hence, in the areas of healing and miracles, the Pentecostal movement often promises success in any undertaking, in securing employment or accommodation in the banishment of fear among others. The restlessness accompanying urban life and the need to find 'salvation' out of its tensions invariably swell the congregations at the programmes put together by the Pentecostal movements. Moreover, urban life offers all the vital contrast between the good and the evil which the movement use as illustrations to keep their message in focus.[207]

Although Ojo was commenting on the Nigerian situation, this was true in the 1960s and 1970s Zambian context. Chalwe writes that:

> During the 1960s and 1970s, the general impact of classical Pentecostalism in Zambia was incalculable as the Classical Pentecostal Churches provided the images, metaphors and concepts for the newcomers in the cities and towns who were struggling with day-to-day pressures. While most of the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches were losing their members, who moved into the urban areas, the Classical Pentecostal Churches on the other hand, were very busy reaching out to the new urban-centre comers.[208]

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees affirmed that the mobility of most young adults became a crucial factor in the spread and growth of classical Pentecostalism in many communities. As a result, this had diffusing effects on the Classical Pentecostal Churches geographically, as the planting of further churches was determined by the social changes which favoured the growth of the Pentecostalism in Zambia.

[207] Matthew A. Ojo, "Contextualisation and Significance of Charismatic Movement in Independent Nigeria," *Africa*, vol. 58 (1998): 175-190.
[208] Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 45.

5.6.2. Passionate and Aggressive Evangelism

A clear majority of ninety percent of interviewees affirmed that passionate and aggressive evangelism was one of the main contributing factors in the massive growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia during the 1960s and 1970s. Hayden writes that:

> As a way of promoting Zambia's national products, the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) started a programme of presenting evening cinema shows in public squares. During the 1960s and 1970s, these Government of Republic of Zambia (GRZ)-sponsored cinema shows attracted large crowds of people. However, when these promotional cinema shows ended, there were very few social activities that brought communities together in public spaces, especially in the evenings and during the weekends.[209]

Interviewees revealed that the Classical Pentecostal leaders re-introduced the Zambian people to the open-air evangelistic gathering in the evenings and weekends as alternative to the Government of the Republic of Zambia-sponsored evening promotional cinema shows which used to bring people and communities together. It was these Classical Pentecostal Churches' week-long and evening evangelistic gatherings that provided religious alternatives to the public cinema events which were often Zambians' only form of recreational facilities during this period. Reverend Sakala reveals that:

> During the evening open-air evangelistic gatherings, both non-Christians and Christians used to be prayed for, and their lives were completely changed by God. The evangelistic meetings were held in various parts of the country where sick people were prayed for and thousands of people were present. Hence, people started taking note of what God was doing during this evening Gospel gatherings.[210]

At sixty-nine percent, many of the interviewees remembered that during the 1960s and 1970s, the general Zambian public were able to identify with the spiritual confrontation that was

[209] See Göran Hydén, *African Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 183-205.
[210] Reverend Sakala claims that "during the late 1960s and late 1970s, about 80% of Zambians became Pentecostal Christians by after experiencing some form of healing or deliverance during these evening evangelistic meetings. See *Lusaka Urban Church Survey 2002*, 15.

being propagated by the Classical Pentecostal preachers. They were also able to acknowledge the results of such activities. These evening evangelistic gatherings were professionally organised to a high standard, with good Public-Address Systems (PAS) and with rehearsed mass choirs. Interviewees stated that attendances as well as the responses to invitations for salvation during these week-long evening evangelistic meetings were overwhelming. Eventually, these evangelistic evening gathering became even bigger when international Pentecostal organisations became fully involved. As Barrett recalls:

> The highlight of these evening evangelistic gatherings was the visit by the late American International Televangelist Billy Graham in 1967 in Kitwe. Graham staged a seven-day Gospel Campaign which attracted as many as twenty-eight thousand people.[211]

More international Pentecostal evangelistic figures such as Reinhard Boonke, who led Christ for all Nations (CFaN) also became involved and introduced more massive evening Gospel campaigns especially on the Copperbelt, which focused on discipleship, leadership formation and church planting.[212]

Almost all interviewees (111 out of 115), suggested the socio-economic conditions of the mid-1960s and late 1970s gave classical Pentecostals fresh incentives to evangelise people in the rural areas of Zambia. Interviewees also revealed that the advance of the classical Pentecostalism in rural areas of Zambia was due to agricultural and economic changes. Interviewees states that in most rural areas of Zambia, classical Pentecostalism's growth usually occurred in unique ways, whereby the Pentecostal message was disseminated person to person as a rumour would spread, and that evangelism was heavily dependant on the laity.

[211] David B. Barrett, *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in Modern World, AD 1900-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 764-767.
[212] See Isabel Phiri, "Decades of Harvest," *CDQFM* (May 1990): 1-3.

This tendency claimed by interviewees is observed by Hollenweger about Pentecostalism, who asserts that "all elements of the oral theology function as a logic system for passing on theological and social value information in oral societies."[213] Some sixty-three percent of interviewees pointed out that during the 1960s and 1970s, the upward mobility of the Zambian population moving from the rural areas into the urban centres did not bring about the intended results in the rural areas. However, the downward mobility of the people moving from the urban centres back to the rural areas brought about massive growth to classical Pentecostalism in Zambia especially in the 1970s when President Kenneth David Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) government was promoting the 'Back to the Land Lima Programme,' encouraging people to return to rural areas. Interviewees concluded that it was due to the witness of Zambian classical Pentecostal Christians who were able to return to their villages that more rural people were exposed and converted to classical Pentecostalism.

5.3.3. Cell or Kinship Circle Meetings

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees clearly stated that the cell or kinship circle meetings were crucial in the growth of the classical Pentecostalism in Zambia. Banister writes that:

> Evangelicals and Pentecostals have used the small house groups for different purposes. Pentecostals-Charismatics have found the small groups a perfect climate for prayer and ministry in the Charismatic gifts. While Evangelicals have found the small house groups a great place for accountability and the study of Scriptures and the 'Word and Power Churches' expect that both benefits will result from the small house groups.[214]

[213] Walter J. Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years Research on Pentecostalism," *IRM*, vol. LXXV, no. 297 (1985): 10-11.
[214] Doug Banister, *Word and Power Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999), 62.

According to Phiri, "cell or kinship circle refers to a small group of approximately eight to twelve Christians meeting once or twice every week. A vital important part of the classical Pentecostal Churches' infrastructure which has the primary functions of accountability and intimacy as well as the secondary functions of Bible study, prayer and healing."[215] All one hundred and fifteen interviewees acknowledged that in the 1960s and 1970s, cell or kinship circle meetings became very popular especially in the towns and cities along the railway lines. Interviewees revealed that as a way of expanding the number of classical Penecostal churches, the homes of church members were used for Bible studies and fellowship. Through these cell meeting, some members of those households who were not Christians were readily converted to classical Pentecostalism. Interviewees made the claim that during the kinship circle house group meetings, classical Pentecostal leaders used to provide Biblical teaching that was sound. They managed to develop meaningful relationships, identify members' gifts, train new leaders, provide greater pastoral care, demonstrate concern for the neighbourhood and establish a base for neighbourhood evangelism. Interviewees claimed that the face-to-face nature of the Zambian communities, work and neighbourhood favoured classical Pentecostals' personal testimonies to the efficacy of salvation.

5.6.4. Lack of Religious Competition

Some sixty percent of interviewees reported that the lack of religious competition in the late 1960s and late 1970s benefitted the growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. Unsurprisingly during this period, the Classical Pentecostal Churches continued to attract members of the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches. While half of the interviewees claimed that the singing of choruses, dancing, clapping of hands, praying out loud, giving of

[215] Phiri, *African Spirituality*, 33.

personal testimonies, speaking in other tongues, prophecies, laying on of hands, anointing with oil, altar calls during the Church services, all-night prayer meetings, open air evangelistic outreach and simple and straightforward preaching, as opposed to expository preaching based on the lectionary, gave the Classical Pentecostal Churches an edge over the Protestant Mainstream Mission Churches. A similar proportion, sixty-two percent of interviewees, stated that during the 1960s and 1970s, the features of the Classical Pentecostal Churches' church services were formed by the piety of the participants and the stress on simplicity and the supernaturalism of these churches' services arose out of the cultural context. Almost ninety-nine percent of interviewees acknowledged that supernatural manifestations, particularly healing and exorcism were the key components that drew people to the message that the Classical Pentecostal Churches were spreading. Given the impetus of the era, it should not be surprising that nearly all the Classical Pentecostal Churches in the 1960s and 1970s managed to successfully share the Good News of the Full Gospel in highly relevant and accessible ways. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees affirmed that the Full Gospel message which was presented by Pentecostal preachers during this time was popularly accepted by the Zambian public. It seems likely that this enacted Full Gospel message was the decisive factor in explaining the appeal of classical Pentecostal evangelists and preachers' offer of salvation which was being widely accepted in the nation of Zambia, and which eventually resulted in the extraordinary growth of classical Pentecostalism.

5.6.5. Classical Pentecostalism's Appeal to Young People

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that during the 1960 and 1970s, classical Pentecostalism became highly appealing to young Zambians. This is not unexpected because after political independence in October 1964, Zambia was attempting to keep pace with the

fast-changing world. With the Zambian economy's dependance on copper mining, a young generation of Zambians had to be raised to advance the nation. During this period, the Zambian education system was designed to promote English as the language of Enlightenment, and Western Europe and North America as the standards of success. Hence, any form of connection to Europe or North America, be it cultural, religion or academic was a symbol of boasting about Zambians' image. Therefore, when the Classical Pentecostal Churches arrived in Zambia, they expressed themselves as progressive churches boasting of connections with Western Europe and North America. Over half of the interviewees reported that with Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) government's poor economic decisions, there was failure by the government to successfully use the nations resources to educate large numbers of young intellectuals. Thus, by mid-1970s, many young Zambians who were aspiring to become professionals were still struggling. According to the interviewees, many young people joined the Classical Pentecostal Churches because classical Pentecostalism provided the inspiration of how to excel in life. Indeed, the teaching by the Classical Pentecostal Churches on the need to prosper in life gave hope to many young people who were poor and struggling. In this way, classical Pentecostalism invested in young people an expectancy of excelling in life.[216] This interviewees' revelation is echoed by Chalwe who writes that:

> In the 1970s, most of the young people in Zambia were attracted to classical Pentecostalism because English language was being used by most classical Pentecostal preachers in their preaching. These preachers were swift, flamboyant and hardworking and their personalities made them likeable especially by the young people. In addition, the Classical Pentecostal Churches had flat power structures which allowed a great amount of participation by the young people both in worship and organisation of these churches.[217]

[216] The modernising effects of Pentecostalism with its promotion of social mobility is an area of sociological and anthropological interest because class distinctions in Zambia during the 1970s were notable in terms of the contrast of urban-rural rather than of that of the traditional divisions of capital-labour or upper-lower class.
[217] Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 13-15.

It was not surprising that this became appealing to the young Zambians who were largely deprived of any power or influence in their working lives, because foreigners were still in charge of most companies.

5.6.6. Sunday School and Youth Programmes

According to ninety-seven percent of interviewees, during the late 1960s and late 1970s, nearly all the Classical Pentecostal Churches benefited from the Sunday school and Youth programmes that were implemented. Interviewees further stated that the techniques which the Classical Pentecostal Churches employed during this period in their Sunday school and Youth evangelistic programmes were very powerful factors in their growth. Some sixty-two percent of interviewees recalled that Sunday schools and Youth meetings were made available to all the Zambian families and in nearly all Classical Pentecostal Churches, Bible lessons were designed to appeal to children and young people. Consequently, many children and young people were exposed and introduced to classical Pentecostalism and in some cases, children were introduced to Jesus Christ too. The other 38% of interviewees claimed that during the 1960s and 1970s, some parents regarded the Classical Pentecostal Churches' Sunday school meetings as preparation for their children before joining the formal public and private schools. However, half of the interviewees agreed that during the 1960s and 1970s, many of the children and young adults who went to Classical Pentecostal Churches' Sunday schools and Youth gatherings eventually went on to become Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians. Interviewee ZMP003 recounts that the 1960s and 1970s were the decades of blessing among the Zambian children and young people as many of them were converted to Jesus Christ.

It is appropriate, therefore, to state that it was out of Sunday school and Youth meetings that classical Pentecostalism grew and developed in Zambia. Almost all of interviewees (114 out 115) affirmed that successful and effective children and young adults' religious programmes contributed to the general growth of most Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia during the 1960s and 1970s. These interviewees' affirmation is affirmed by Chalwe who writes that:

> Many young Zambian adults in the 1960s and 1970s were largely influenced by their interaction with their classical Pentecostal friends either at Scripture Union meetings in Secondary schools or interdenominational Youth camp meetings which formed a base for the Classical Pentecostal Churches' influences especially among the young people from the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches and these young people informally progressed from Secondary schools into National Service Camps and their influence continued even after having completed their two years of the National Service programmes.[218]

5.3.7 Input by Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that the most important development within Zambian classical Pentecostal Christianity in the 1960s and 1970s was the coming of Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations such as Scripture Union (SU), the Fellowship of Christian Unions (FOCUS) which later became Zambia Fellowship of Evangelical Students (ZAFES), Nurses Christian Fellowship (NCF) and the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) Zambia Charter. Some sixty-one percent of interviewees asserted that most of the Classical Pentecostal Churches drew fresh impetus from the Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations that launched these churches, with the purpose of gaining greater visibility and salience on the Zambian religious scene, because in the 1970s, nearly all Non-Denominational Organisations had already been influenced by classical Pentecostal styles and methods of worship. This interviewees' assertion is attested by Lumbe who observes that:

[218] Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 43.

> The presence of Scripture Union and Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International were forceful especially through high schools and higher institutions of learning. It was through these organisations' evangelistic activities that many young educated Zambians and business people were converted to classical Pentecostalism. Furthermore, the main aim of nearly all the Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations' meetings were to propagate the Gospel and to deepen the spiritual lives of all believers, and their emphasis was on personal salvation, strict Bible-centred morality and soul-wining.[219]

While Chalwe notes that:

> Through close collaborations with the Classical Pentecostal Churches, the Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations became very influential in cultivating interest in the 1970s Pentecostal revivalism and '*pentecostalisation*' of Zambian Christianity. This was since there were strong classical Pentecostal teachings during all the Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations' meetings. As a result, many young people, students, local business people and educated Zambians were opened to classical Pentecostal beliefs and practices.[220]

Furthermore, fifty-five percent of interviewees asserted that the strategy of the nearly all the Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations in the 1960s and 1970s was to reach the Zambian people regardless of their tribal identity. This strategy eventually paid off, because as of today, nearly all the Classical Pentecostal Churches boast of having pastors, leaders and members who represent all the seventy-three ethnic Zambian tribes within their ranks, while most of the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches in Zambia still reflect very strong tribal features that manifest in language usage and organisation.

[219] Lumbe writes that "although Scripture Union was initially a conservative fellowship and not so warm towards Pentecostal teachings and practices, yet it enjoyed a large number of students who subscribed to Pentecostalism." See Lumbe, *Origins and Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movement*, 14-18.

[220] Chalwe has claims that "during the young people's camp meetings organised by Scripture Union (SU) and Zambia Fellowship of Evangelical Students (ZAFES), the pneumatological theology was expanded to embrace the working of the Holy Spirit in a believer's life." See Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 44-48.

5.7. Exponential Growth of Classical Pentecostal Churches in the 2000s to 2010s and Thereafter

All one hundred and fifteen of interviewees revealed that by the end of the 1970s, the Classical Pentecostal Churches generally continued to grow steadily. However, half of the interviewees argued that it was in the 1980s and 1990s that classical Pentecostalised faith and worship began to make inroads into many Zambian Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches, as well as the Roman Catholic Churches, and that this was when the classical Pentecostalism's growth accelerated dramatically. It was not surprising that in the 1980s and 1990s, the Classical Pentecostal Churches were at their strongest numerically. Half of the interviewees stated that, by the 1990s, classical Pentecostal Churches were geographically dispersed throughout the nation of Zambia. The other half focussed on how it would be erroneous to see the 2000s and 2010s period as being entirely one of mass expansion of Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. Indeed, while nationwide numerical growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches has continued, it has also started to level off. Despite the hopes of the 1980s and 1990s, the Classical Pentecostal Churches growth has been static in the 2000s and 2010s. This is because most of the contemporary Classical Pentecostal Churches are failing to ignite large scale conversions.

5.8. EMERGENCE OF THE NEO-PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

5.8.1. The Broader National Contexts in the 1980s and 1990s

An attempt has been made to place Zambian Pentecostalism in its socio-economic and socio-political national contexts by outlining some of the major economic and socio-political events that are relevant to understanding of the emergence of the especially the Neo-Pentecostal

Churches in Zambia. Although the focus of this study is on the history of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, the broad picture of national changes in the socio-economic, socio-political and governance of the 1980s and 1990s have also been incorporated, to place the characters in the narrative in their wider historical context. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees stated that the socio-economic and political events of the 1980s and 1990s had a direct impact on how Neo-Pentecostalism emerged. Noticeably, Cheyeka and Phiri suggest that "it is very important that Zambian religious history be comprehensible within the economic and socio-political history of the nation."[221] Scott writes that:

> By the late 1980s, Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda-led United National Independence Party (UNIP) government had nationalised nearly all the key enterprises and private land in an unsuccessful agricultural and economic improvement programme, this nationalisation and formalisation process of key Zambian enterprises gained considerable momentum from the restrictive import and foreign currency when the Zambian government-controlled food distribution systems and fixed prices.[222]

In terms of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP),[223] Zambia was singled out as one of the poorest nations in the world in the 1980s and 1990s with declining social indicators.[224] As

[221] More sustainable scholarly involvement in the study of the implications of Zambian religiosity has been taken up by both Cheyeka and Phiri, who, in various essays, have examined the growth of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches and their alliance with the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) administration, and the contemporary revival of both Islam and the local Muslim associations. See Cheyeka, *Towards the History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonia Zambia*, 144-163.

[222] E. P. Scott, "Lusaka's Informal Sector in National Economic Development," *Journal of Developing Areas*, vol. 20 (1985): 151-160.

[223] Adrian and Bridget Plass claim that "by 1990, the difference between imports and exports was less than 5% of the GDP, which is the total market value of all final goods and services produced in a given year, equal to the total consumer, investment and government spending plus the value of exports, minus the value of imports. Since 1994, Zambia's GDP has been less than nine percent and less than fifteen percent. These statistics means bad news for Zambia. For example, formal manufacturing employment in 1991 was about 75,400 and by 1998, it had sunk to about 43,320. Paid employment in the mining and manufacturing in 1991 stood at 140,000, and by 1998, the number was down to about 83,000. Paid employment in agriculture in 1990 amounted to about 78,000, and by 2000, the number was down to about 50,000, reflecting the same downward trend. The most shocking statistic of all was that the textile manufacturing employed about 34,000 in 1990, but this number was down to about 4,000 by the year 2000." See Adrian Plass and Bridget Plass, *The Son of God is Dancing: A Message of Hope* (Bletchley, Milton Keynes: Authentic Media, 2005), 120.

[224] Adrian and Bridget Plass assert that "by the end of the 1970s, Zambia's national debt had risen to about $3,244 million United States dollars, and by 1990, Zambia owned no less than $6,916 United States dollars; and this was more than nine times the amount the Zambian government had originally borrowed. Zambia was, of course, not only poverty-stricken country to find itself in this disastrous situation, and eventually an initiative calling itself Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) was created; and at last, it looked as though Zambia could crawl out of the economic ditch, wipe itself down and start again." However, this was not the case, as both Mpuku and Zyyuulu have observed "the effect of this was registered by increased malnutrition, infant mortality

Adrian and Bridget Plass notice, "during this period, Zambia was a country of contrasts, rich in natural resources, but very poor in food security and economics."[225] As the Communist Block fell at the end of the Cold War between the Union of Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America (USA), so did Dr. Kaunda's UNIP government's socialist ideologies and the economy in Zambia.[226] Unsurprisingly, eighty-eight percent of interviewees revealed that during the 1980s and early 1990s, many Zambians suffered from moral and spiritual degradation as many were weighed down by the burdens of life. This interviewees' revelation is echoed in the World Health Organisation's HIV/AIDS Treatment Report of 2010 where it is stated that:

> During the 1980s and early 1990s, Zambia saw significant socio-economic changes which included further economic collapse, increased corruption, high unemployment, increased malnutrition cases, high infant mortality rates and increased human immune deficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) cases and HIV/AIDS shifted from being an obscure notion and threat, to a lived reality. HIV/AIDS had catastrophic consequences and adverse psycho-social and economic consequences which left many Zambians disillusioned. With estimated 22.0 million out of the global thirty-three million people living with HIV/AIDS, Sub-

and rise in crime. As revenue diminished, it became very difficult for the Zambian government to support and subsidise the public sector and public institutions such as schools and hospitals; hence, these sectors deteriorated rapidly as medical drugs, equipment, educational and other basic facilities became difficult to obtain, and the free health and education became nothing, but a hollow slogan. It was not surprising that Zambia's poverty levels were relatively high despite a drop from about seventy-one percent in rural areas in 1998 to about 53% in 2004. Zambia still has a 68% extreme rate, according to the Zambian Human Right Development Report (UNDP), 2007, with about 63.8% of the population living on less than one United States dollar a day. The report notes that "overall unemployment rates dropped from about twelve percent in 1998 to about twenty-one percent in 2004; and social indicators indicate a life expectancy at birth of about 40.9 years, and maternal mortality of 830 per 10,000 pregnancies." See Herrick C. Mpuku and Ivan Zyuulu, *Contemporary Issues in Socio-Economic Reforms in Zambia*, (Aldershot, Hants, England/Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997): 1-2 and Adrian and Bridget Plass, *The Son of God is Dancing*, 118.

[225] Adrian and Bridget Plass, *The Son of God is Dancing*, 48-53.

[226] The Zambian government made up for the failing revenue with several abortive attempts at International Monetary Fund (IMF)'s Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) which ended after popular outcries from the Zambian public. In May 1987, the government abandoned the IMF's SAP programmes prompting several of the major international bilateral donors such the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, Sweden and the U.S.A. to reduce their assistance to Zambia. See Kenneth Good, "Debt and the One-Party State in Zambia," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, no. 2 (1989): 297-313 and Margaret Handson and James J. Hentz, "Neo-colonialism and Neo-liberalism in South Africa and Zambia," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 144, no. 3 (1999): 479-502.

> Saharan Africa, which includes Zambia, was leading in the number of HIV/AIDS cases reported at that time.[227]

Ter Haar notes that "many Zambians suggest that during the 1980s and 1990s, Zambian society was subjected to a considerable spiritual revival which began in the early and mid-1980s, a phenomenon that they ascribed to, or associated closely with poverty."[228] Colson claims that "it was in the context of daily struggles for economic survival that many Zambians began to construct their lives around the discourse of divine healing, miracles and prosperity and most of them became Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians during the 1980s and early 1990s."[229]

On the other hand, Gifford asserts that "as the 1980s and 1990s socio-economic conditions worsened Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia grew massively."[230] Gifford's assertion was echoed by eighty-three percent of interviewees, who stated that the Zambian broader national context during the 1980s and early 1990s was fertile ground in which Neo-Pentecostal Churches emerged. It is ideal to state here that Gifford' assertion fits well with what Ojo has called the '*deprivation model paradigm*,' which states that "when a group in society is economically disadvantaged, it turns to new religious movements such as Pentecostalism."[231] Furthermore, Atienmo affirms that:

[227] See World Health Organisation (WHO), Summary Country Profile for HIV/AIDS Treatment Scale-up, 2004, Ministry of Health, Lusaka, Zambia, *Basic Antiretroviral Therapy Clinical Training Course: Referencing Manual*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May 2010): 1-15.
[228] Gerrie Ter Haar, *Spirit of Africa: The Healing Ministry of Archbishop Milingo of Zambia* (London: Hurst and Company, 1992), 223.
[229] The Pentecostal-Charismatic churches became friendly to the poor who constituted about 80% of the Zambian population during the 1980s and 1990s. Pentecostal-Charismatic churches provided solace mainly through prayer and divine healing which assumed ever greater significance amid the HIV/AIDS tragedy that Zambia was facing at that time. See E. Colson, "AIDS and Behavioural Change: Gwembe Valley, Zambia," *African Social Research*, vol. 51 (2005): 1-19.
[230] Paul Gifford, "Some Recent Developments in African Christianity," *African Affairs*, vol. 93 (1994): 513-543.
[231] Ojo, "The Contextualisation and Significance of Charismatic Movement in Independent Nigeria," *Africa*, vol. 58 (1998): 175-190.

> The severe economic and socio-political upheaval in Africa has generally contributed to the rise and growth of Pentecostalism; and that in most African societies, which are fast jettisoning of all the sense of communal belonging and in which the individuals find themselves swamped by the sophisticated economic and socio-political systems and structures, the deep sense of Christian fellowship that is found among Pentecostals-Charismatics becomes a powerful incentive to joining the Pentecostal-Charismatic churches.[232]

Although Atienmo's findings were specifically based on the Ghanaian situation, his findings are also applicable to the Zambian national situation during the 1980s and 1990s. On this basis, it is to be expected that Pentecostalism was able to survive the hardships and grow massively during the 1980s and 1990s economic and socio-political vacuum. The Neo-Pentecostal message during this period included personal and largescale evangelism, baptism in the Holy Spirit and divine healing. This clearly reflected the economic and socio-political changes that were taking place in the broader Zambian society of the 1980s and early 1990s.[233]

Undoubtedly, it was the broader national socio-political and economic distress of the 1980s and 1990s that provided a favourable environment for religious changes in Zambia. The first Zambian Republican president Dr. Kaunda and his UNIP government did not see the need for the proliferation of new churches in Zambia of the early 1980s. Hence, the government halted the registration of any new churches. As might be expected, it was after this period that most of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches began to emerge as the government eased the registration rules. Half of the interviewees recalled that it was immediately after this easing that local initiatives with Pentecostal-Charismatic overtones swept through the nation. Hence, from the mid-1980s and early 1990s, Zambia witnessed a significant growth in the new Neo-

[232] Abamfo O. Atiemo, *The Rise of the Charismatic Movements in the Mainline Churches in Ghana* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, Christian Council of Ghana, 1993), 24-42.
[233] For a more useful parallel, see Matthew A. Ojo, "Deeper Life Bible Church of Nigeria," in *New Dimensions in African Christianity, edited by P. Gifford* (Nairobi: All African Conference of Churches, 1992), 115.

Pentecostal Churches, with many of them legally registered and joined to an umbrella body of evangelical churches, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ).[234] In November 2001, the Independent Churches Organisation of Zambia (ICOZ)[235] was officially launched as an umbrella body of all Pentecostal-Charismatic churches and ministries in Zambia.

5.8.1.1. How the Neo-Pentecostal Churches Got Started

There was an awareness in ninety-four percent of interviewees that the Neo-Pentecostal Churches were the product of the Pentecostal-Charismatic Revival of the 1970s, because leaders of these various churches were involved in one way or the other in the Classical Pentecostal Churches Christian leadership at different levels and in various organisations. Lumbe writes that "after the emergence of the Classical Pentecostal Churches in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Zambia in the 1980s and 1990s saw the emergence of new Neo-Pentecostal Churches."[236] Half of the interviewees claimed that unlike the Classical Pentecostal Churches, the new Neo-Pentecostal Churches were in most cases, started by an individual or with the help of other Pentecostal-Charismatic churches within or outside of Zambia. These interviewees' claims are in line with Anderson who notices that "most of these new African Neo-Pentecostal Churches just as the Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa, modelled the 'one-man or one-woman' church structures. In this system, though power resolves vertically from the top-to-the-bottom, the founder's word is generally the rule."[237]

[234] The EFZ was formed on 8th April 1964 to serve as a co-ordinating agency of the various Evangelical Churches, missions and Para-church organisations throughout Zambia. See the 1998 Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) Handbook.
[235] On 12th November 2001, the ICOZ was officially launched as a mother body for all Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Zambia. Ever since, the Pentecostal-Charismatic churches and ministries now form a very rich variety of Christianity in Zambia.
[236] Lumbe, *Origins and Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movement*, 21.
[237] Allan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2000), 312.

The most prominent Neo-Pentecostal Churches that emerged during this period were Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba-led Victory Bible Church (VIB),[238] Bishop Joseph Imakando-led Bread of Life Church International (BLCI),[239] Joseph Lilema and Gideon Tembo-led Word of Life Church International (WLCI),[240] and the Grace Ministries Missions International (GMMI).[241] These became Zambia's mega-churches[242] and ministries in less than a decade after their emergence. Mega-Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Zambian context can be defined as those churches which usually have at least one thousand to one thousand five hundred people present on a single Sunday.

The process of planting new Neo-Pentecostal Churches during the mid-1980s and throughout the 1990s was found to be remarkable by ninety-three percent of interviewees, as evangelistic activities of Neo-Pentecostals in local communities attracted large crowds. Through these outreach activities, the Neo-Pentecostal Churches were able to recruit and attract new members. Interviewees further stated that during this period, the Neo-Pentecostal Churches became increasingly capable of sustaining their own membership recruitment. Some sixty-seven percent of interviewees alleged that during the 1980s and 1990s, the American Pentecostal-Charismatic evangelistic organisations and ministries invested heavily into evangelistic gospel campaigns, providing literature and sponsoring both television and radio programmes for many Neo-Pentecostal Churches and ministries. Interviewees stated that it

[238] According to the 1998 Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) Handbook, Victory Bible Church was founded by Dr. Nevers S. Mumba on 2nd November 1980. See 1998 EFZ Handbook, 8.
[239] The Bread of Life Church International (BLCI) traces its origins to 21st September 1975.
[240] The Word of Life Church International (WLCI) was started by Joseph Lilema and Gideon Tembo who left the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia (AFMZ) in December 1978.
[241] According to Lumbe, the Grace Ministries Mission International (GMMI) was founded coincidently rather than internationally. See Lumbe, *Origins and Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movement*, 22.
[242] Gifford has confirmed that "in Africa, it is the new Neo-Pentecostal/Charismatic churches which have become mega-Pentecostal-Charismatic churches." See Gifford, *Some Recent Developments in African Christianity*, 515-543.

was these investments by mainly the North American Pentecostal-Charismatic evangelistic organisations and ministries that soon paid off when American-trainees such as Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba came back from America and established new vibrant localised Neo-Pentecostal Churches and independent ministries.[243] The new Neo-Pentecostal Churches that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s picked up the momentum, and their proliferation has continued ever since.

5.8.2. Factors that Furthered the Growth of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches

During face-to-face interviews, different interviewees advanced different explanations for the growth of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. For instance, half of the interviewees divided the interpretation of the phenomenal growth of Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia into religious explanations. While the other half divided the interpretation of the growth of these same group of churches into non-religious and socio-cultural explanations. Interestingly, all one hundred and fifteen interviewees identified theological tensions in the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches, revivalism and the constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' as the key factors that furthered the growth of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the nation.

[243] The international Pentecostal evangelistic organisations and ministries run by Pentecostal-Charismatic leaders such as T. L. Osborn, Oral Roberts, Morris Cerullo, Gordon Lindsay and Germany Pentecostal evangelist Reinard Bonnke started offering scholarship to young Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic preachers to attend Bible colleges in America.

5.8.2.1. Theological Tensions in the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches

All interviewees stated that Pentecostalism in Zambia was particularly spectacular in the 1980s and 1990s. Almost all interviewees (112 out of 115) alleged that during this period, the theological tensions regarding the Holy Spirit in many Zambian Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches created an ideal environment for the forceful removal of some of members of these churches who embraced and inclined themselves towards Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. On a similar note, the 1988 Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) Handbook[244] reveals that the mid-1980s and 1990s saw the emergence of new Neo-Pentecostal Churches which initially started as Conservative Evangelical Churches whose shift in theology regarding the Holy Spirit in individual Christian believers caused them to break-away from the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches. Cheyeka explains that "the arguments against the new Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the 1980s and 1990s centred mainly on their claim of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, the gifts of speaking in other tongues and their belief in God's miracles."[245] Ter Haar also claims that:

> When Pentecostal spirituality penetrated some of the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches such as the Evangelical Church of Zambia, the Baptist Union Church, the Reformed Church in Zambia, United Church of Zambia and even some Roman Catholic Churches, some members of these churches who claimed to have experienced the baptism in the Holy Spirit were expelled and so they decided to join or start new Neo-Pentecostal Churches. Furthermore, some Roman Catholic Churches gained 'Charismatic wings,' in which members witnessed extraordinary experiences and manifestations in the Pentecostal manner which brought about divisions in some Parishes. The Charismatic Renewal within the Roman Catholic Churches was still considered as being marginal. After Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo's removal from Lusaka in 1983 on the account of concerns that he was practising divine healing and exorcisms, many parishes and members felt persecuted by the hierarchy. Hence, they joined the Neo-Pentecostal Churches.[246]

[244] It is recorded in the EFZ Handbook that "the 1980s and 1990s witnessed a significant growth of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the nation of Zambia, sixteen of which joined the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ)." See the 1988 *EFZ Handbook.*
[245] Cheyeka, *Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonial Zambia*, 152.
[246] See Ter Haar, *Spirits of Africa*.

Ter Haar's claim is echoed by Chilenje who writes that "in the 1980s and 1990s, many Zambians left the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches, converted to Neo-Pentecostalism and joined the new vibrant and religiously sensitive Neo-Pentecostal Churches."[247] Phiri also reveals that "in the 1980s and 1990s, it was mainly the theological tensions in the Mainstream Zambian Protestant Churches that resulted in the formation of many new Neo-Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Zambia."[248] For instance, in the early 1980s, in the Christian Brethren Church, that is, the Christian Mission in Many Lands (CMML), a theological tension arose between church members and some of the European missionaries after Gordon Suckling and his cohorts were exposed to Pentecostalism.[249] Mutenda reports that:

> It was theological conflicts about the Holy Spirit especially the gifts of the Holy Spirit such as divine healing and exorcism that caused a rift between Gordon Suckling and his cohorts who left the Christian Mission in Many Lands in 1982 to form the Christian Fellowship in Zambia.[250]

According to Mutenda, "the Christian Fellowship in Zambia grew rapidly in the North-Western Province of Zambia and established its base at Sachibondu in Mwinilunga. This massive growth of the Christian Fellowship in Zambia was attributed mainly to the outflow of members from the Christian Mission in Many Lands churches and the Christian Fellowship in Zambia's strong evangelistic vision and mission."[251] Some eighty-seven

[247] Victor Chilenje, "The Origins and Development of the Church of God Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1982-2004," (PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, 2007), 221.
[248] Kelvin J. Phiri, "African Pentecostal Spirituality: A Case Study of the Emerging African Pentecostal Churches in Zambia," (PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2009), 22.
[249] Gordon Suckling was a Christian Mission in Many Lands (CMML) missionary in the North-Western Province of Zambia. He dedicated his life not only to spreading the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but also to educate and the upliftment of mainly the Lunda people for whom he always had great love. See Gordon Suckling, *Kachongu Sesa-Mbinga: A Story of a Big Game Hunter Who Became an Ambassador of Christ* (Chingola: AOG Youth Press, 1996), 156-157.
[250] Mutenda, *A History of the Christian Brethren*, 178-183.
[251] According to Mutenda, "within three years, the Christian Fellowship in Zambia had about 500 local congregations which spread across Zambia. The Christian Fellowship in Zambia had a very strong relationship with the Harvest Ministries of England led by Bry Jones, who was one the leading member of the Apostolic

percent of interviewees revealed that another church that experienced splits due to theological differences regarding the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts was the Evangelical Church in Zambia. On a similar note, Mutenda reports that:

> The Kitwe Evangelical Church in Zambia received a South African missionary named Oothuizen, who managed to expose some of the members of the church to Pentecostal experiences. Whereupon, the Evangelical Church in Zambia's theological stance shifted as the church leaders embraced the new Pentecostal experiences and openly expressed themselves. However, since the Evangelical Church in Zambia's constitution did not allow for this type of expression of their Christian faith, theological tensions arose which eventually led to a split. Many of the Evangelical Church in Zambia members moved out of the Kitwe congregation which later became part of the Christian Fellowship of Zambia. This was followed by a similar experience at Chingola's Chiwepala Evangelical Church in Zambia in Chingola where young people's experiences with the Holy Spirit altered their theological stance regarding the work of the Holy Spirit in an individual believer's life. Sadly, these young people and their leaders were expelled from the Evangelical Church in Zambia. These same young people moved on to find their own new Neo-Pentecostal churches.[252]

Another instance highlighted by eighty-four percent of interviewees was the Bread of Life Church International which was at one time a satellite church of the Lubu Baptist Church in Longacres in Lusaka, led by a group of elders with its current Bishop Joseph Imakando as one of the leaders. While the Bread of Life Church International retained its Baptist identity in name, the awakening of the members to the working of the Holy Spirit in their own individual lives began to alter their perception regarding the teaching of the Lubu Baptist Church. On a similar note, the Lusaka Urban Church Survey 2002 reveals that:

> The development of the Bread of Life Church International was enabled by members' enthusiasm which gripped mainly the young people in the church to go out and evangelise. The prominent features in these young people's evangelistic enterprise were the healings and exorcisms which were not Lubu Baptist Church's practices at that time. As a result, the young people left Lubu Baptist Church and started worshipping at the Emmasdale Baptist Church which became a centre for Pentecostal activities attracting people from the Mainline Protestant and Missionary Churches as well as the general Zambian public who wanted to experience God's

Movement purporting to restore the apostolic ministry of the early Christian church." See Mutende, *A History of the Christian Brethre* , 178-183.

[252] Mutenda, *A History of the Christian Brethren*, 180-183.

> power in their own personal lives. The Bread of Life Church International witnessed an increase in membership and attendance during this period. But the Emmasdale Baptist Church's relationship with other Baptist Churches in Lusaka would not be sustained anymore, therefore, a decision was made that Bishop Joseph Imakando, and his group needed to be independent and this lead to the official formation of the Bread of Life Church International as a Neo-Pentecostal church.[253]

Furthermore, ninety-six percent of interviewees stated that between 1996 and 2001, the Pentecostal-Charismatic tendencies challenged the long-inherited tradition of the Reformed Church in Zambia. Soko writes that:

> Schism started as a violation of the Reformed Church in Zambia's tradition on mainly worship. In urban areas, many Reformed Church in Zambia congregations started ways of Pentecostal-Charismatic worship. Individual Reformed Church in Zambia ministers in various congregations started what was perceived as a violation of the established liturgical order that was gradually being abandoned and was replaced with altar calls, singing of joyous choruses, the clapping of hands, dancing, skipping of the Lord's Prayer, repeated shouting of 'Hallelujah!' and 'Amen!,' overnight prayers and speaking in other tongues. Hence, the constitution of Reformed Church in Zambia was refuted. Subsequently, the theological tensions concerning the Holy Spirit caused intense conflicts in the Reformed Church in Zambia churches between the pro-conservatives and pro-Pentecostals-Charismatics. This eventually led to the formation of the Christian Reformed Churches in 1999 and later the Bible Gospel Church of Africa (BIGOCA) in 2001.[254]

It was also revealed by eighty-six percent of interviewees that it was the theological tension over the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts in the United Church of Zambia congregations that led to the formation of Grace Mission Ministries International. On a similar note, Lumbe explains that "some theological tensions concerning the Holy Spirit in the United Church of Zambia churches especially in Lusaka led to the formation of Grace Mission Ministries International (GMMI) in September 1993."[255]

---

[253] According to the Lusaka Urban Church Survey 2002, the Bread of Life Church International currently has over ten thousand adherents attending church services every Sunday. The Bread of Life Church International also runs a television broadcast called 'Hour of Blessing.' By 2005, the Bread of Life Church International had either incorporated existing churches or planted new ones on the Copperbelt, Northern, Luapula, North-Western, Eastern, Central, Southern, Muchinga and Lusaka Provinces. See *Lusaka Urban Survey 2002*.
[254] See Lukas Soko, "A Practical Theological Assessment of the Schisms in the Reformed Church in Zambia, 1996-2001," (PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2010), 81-104.
[255] See Lumbe, *Origins and Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movement in Zambia*, 50-53.

5.8.2.2. Constitutional Declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation'

In 1972, first Zambian Republican President Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (UNIP) government introduced a new constitution which embraced humanism as its guiding principal. Under Dr. Kaunda's rule (1964-1991), the government pursued a multi-faith and ecumenical approach to religions. As a result, Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and other religious groups such as the Mystical Eastern Religions (MERs) gained from this multi-faith policy. However, in 1991, when President Frederick Chiluba and his Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) won the first-ever multi-party general elections, Chiluba immediately constitutionally declared Zambia as a 'Christian Nation.'[256] Arguably, President Chiluba's idea was a theocratic understanding of Zambian society which involved a close partnership between the Church and State as the main pillars of society. Chiluba's vision of constitutionally declaring Zambia a 'Christian Nation' was similar to that of William Brougton who declared in 1829 that "it was the counsel and pleasure of God to rise in New South Wales, a 'Christian Nation.'"[257] Most interviewees (112 out of 115) acknowledged that in the 1990s, many Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians considered President Chiluba's politics and his subsequent constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation,' as the main grounds for the nationwide proliferation of Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Zambia. This interviewees' acknowledgement is echoed by Gifford who wrote that:

> The post-independence politics of creating a Christian Zambian identity has been relatively successful, and Christianity is a key component of this identity, especially after the 1991 declaration by President Frederick Chiluba that Zambia is a 'Christian

[256] In the Preamble to the Zambian Constitution, the second Republican President Chiluba proposed to include the declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation.' See the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia, Preamble (As Amended by Act Number 18 of 1996), 7. However, the current Zambian Constitution (As Amended by Act Number 19 of 2016) declares Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' while permitting freedom of conscience including freedom of worship. See Isabel A. Phiri, "President Frederick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia: The Christian Nation and Democracy," *JRA*, vol. 33, no. 4 (2003): 401-428.

[257] Quoted in G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton, 1988-1853: Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic* (Carton: Melbourne University Press, 1978), 21.

> Nation,' a statement that is now enshrined in the Preamble of the country's constitution.[258]

While Phiri acknowledges that:

> President Frederick Chiluba's constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' led to the massive growth of Evangelical Christianity in general and Neo-Pentecostalism. It was after the declaration that Zambia witnessed a remarkable increase in the general number of Christians rising to about eighty-five percent of the population in 2000.[259]

On the other hand, Munshya argues that:

> Pentecostalism was on the increase in the 1980s, but it was during President Kenneth David Kaunda's tenure that Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia saw its most substantial growth and development. However, it was President Chiluba's constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' that brought visibility to Pentecostal-Charismatic churches something that never existed under the dictatorial rule of President Kaunda.[260]

Furthermore, Mildnerová explains that:

> Two factors influenced the growth of Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the 1990s. The first factor was political. The proliferation of these churches broke out as a direct result of the constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' by president Chiluba. The second factor was bureaucratic. With the end of Chiluba's reign and the inauguration of third Zambian Republican president Patrick Levy Mwanawasa (2002-2008), the policy of restriction and the uncontrolled mushrooming of Pentecostal churches by increasing the fees of registration was implemented. It was these regulations in turn that enabled the bloom of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the later periods.[261]

---

[258] Paul Gifford, "Chiluba's Christian Nation: Christianity as a Factor in Zambian Politics 1991-1996," *JCR*, vol. 13, no. 3 (1998): 363-381.
[259] See Isabel A. Phiri, President Fredrick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia: Evangelicals and Democracy in a 'Christian Nation,' in *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa*, edited by Terence O. Ranger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 401-428.
[260] Elias Munshya wa Munshya, "The Declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation': Blessing or Curse?": What Gershom Ndhlovu Misses About Pentecostals," The Elias Munshya wa Munshya Blog, February 5, 2013, accessed January 13, 2016. http://www.eliasmunshya.org/2013/the-declaration-of-zambia-as-a-christian-nation-blessing-or-curse-what-gershom-ndhlovu-misses-about-pentecostals.
[261] Mildnerová, *African Independent Churches in Zambia (Lusaka)*, 8-25.

5.8.2.3. Revivalism

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that revivalism was one of the major factors in the growth of Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the nation of Zambia. This study shares Latourette's interpretative key that:

> The Holy Spirit moves forward church history by ever new revivals, which bring about ever new organisations. The revivals, which often are an almost worldwide phenomenon, representing a quest for Christian renewal are powerful tools of religious, social and cultural change.[262]

Mouw asserts that "revival is always at least a distant possibility lurking in believers' souls and the Evangelical scheme. At the first hint of an opportunity to exercise cultural influence, the revivalist motif emerges and tends to become a formative influence in Christian thinking."[263]However, Piggin argues that:

> While revival is usually understood to be intensification of the Triune God's normal activity revitalising the Church, converting unbelievers and curbing the practice of sin in the general community, revivalism is supposedly constituted by human techniques and programmes designed to foster revival.[264]

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees stated that in the 1980s, both the classical and Neo-Pentecostals were concerned for a primitivism ecclesiology while at the same time, they continued the theology and practice of revivalism. Hence, it was not surprising that during this period, Pentecostals preached the revivalist Full Gospel, with its offer of instant salvation and assurance based on Biblical Scriptural propositions.

Novel techniques to procure conversions were disclosed by eighty-seven percent of interviewees, such as having several thousands of converts to Pentecostalism giving their

[262] Latourette draws attention mainly to missions and charitable and specialised Christian organisations. However, revivals also create many new denominations. See Kenneth S. Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970), 58-68.
[263] Richard Mouw, "Evangelical Ethics," in *The Lord of Evangelical Piety and Thought*, eds. by Mark A. Noll and Ronald F. Thiemann (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 71-86.
[264] Stuart Piggin, *Firestorm of the Lord* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 66.

personal testimonies at evening evangelistic gatherings, which were adopted nationwide in the 1980s and 1990s. Some thirteen percent of interviewees asserted that the 1980s and 1990s Pentecostal revivalism was mainly urban in character and came through the means developed to reach mainly the urban dwellers. Nevertheless, all one hundred and fifteen interviewees made it clear that the revivalist motif emerged and asserted itself within the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement the 1980s and 1990s. This study is aware that some observers and practitioners have criticised the notion of a 'Zambian Pentecostal Revival' that occurred during the 1980s and 1990s.

However, even if the growth of Zambian Pentecostalism was treated with scepticism, it is very clear from the point of view of all one hundred and fifteen interviewees and from the literature,[265] that there were 'spontaneous planned Pentecostal-Charismatic revivals' especially in the Copperbelt, midlands and other parts of Zambia. As interviewees have asserted, the nationwide spiritual climate in the 1980s and 1990s provided a favourable broader context for evangelistic activities for the Neo-Pentecostal Churches which resulted in a nationwide revivalist explosion. Furthermore, all one hundred and fifteen interviewees asserted that the 1980s and 1990s planned Pentecostal-Charismatic revival had evident indebtedness to earlier phases of the 1970s nationwide revivalism which was characterised by deliberate efforts towards the orchestration of mass nationwide evening and week-long evangelistic Full Gospel campaigns. This assertion of the interviewees is in line with Miller's observation that:

[265] For example, Phiri writes that "the records suggest that in a population of more than nine million at that time, the number of Pentecostal-Charismatic adherents grew from about seventy-five percent by 1995 to about eighty-five percent in 2000." See Isabel A. Phiri, "President Frederick Chiluba and Zambia: Evangelicals and Democracy in a 'Christian Nation,'" in *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa: Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in the Global South*, edited by Terence O. Ranger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 95-100.

> The focus of Zambian Pentecostals in the 1980s and 1990s was primarily evangelism and the salvation of souls. It was during this period that the 'Great Commission' (Matthew 28:16-20) was translated into revival preaching. Admittedly, it was this that created a powerful revivalist momentum in the nation of Zambia and this altered permanently not only the history of the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement but also affected a significant section of the wider Zambian churches and society.[266]

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees agreed that the 1980s and 1990s were decades of significant growth and spiritual breakthrough for Neo-Pentecostalism and Zambian Christianity in general. Interviewees further claimed that the steady advance of the previous decades culminated in a dramatic move of the Holy Spirit in most of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches which inspired growth and fresh spiritual momentum throughout the nation of Zambia. This agreement of the interviewees is in line with Phiri's observation that "the various Pentecostal-Charismatic evangelistic campaigns in the 1980s and 1990s across Zambia resulted in mass conversions and thousands of people were converted to Pentecostalism across the whole nation."[267]

All interviewees understood that the general pattern in the formation, growth and development of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches during the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s involved new adherents of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches being directly or indirectly affected by planned revivalism. The new Neo-Pentecostal Churches and ministries in Zambia were also acknowledged to have grown together with the open-air Full Gospel evangelistic campaigns during this period. Interviewees claimed that in the wake of the 1980s and 1990s Pentecostal-Charismatic Full Gospel evangelistic campaigns, many Zambian Pentecostals

[266] Thomas W. Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga, Ontario: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994), 119-120.
[267] Phiri, *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa*, 154.

Charismatics were inspired by Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba who put an emphasis on conversion of Zambian people. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that during the 1980s and 1990s, Dr. Mumba proclaimed the experience of God in the language of the indigenous Zambian people. Thus, when people understood what he was communicating, this inspired a few them to act by faith on what was being preached. The result was that many young Zambians were motivated and got interested in the Pentecostal-Charismatic revivalism. Therefore, these young people became very familiar with a 'revivalist' atmosphere that was prevailing during this period. As a young person then, the author personally witnessed a local 'Pentecostal-Charismatic' revival in Kitwe which stirred almost the entire community and produced many conversions. Interviewees revealed that many members of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches were encouraged to pray for the nation of Zambia, for the salvation of all unbelievers, for nationwide 'Pentecostal-Charismatic' revival and for the Zambian Christian community. Consequently, the Neo-Pentecostal Churches especially in the towns and cities experienced massive growth.

5.9. The Exponential Growth of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the years 2000 and 2010 and thereafter

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees affirmed that it was during the late 1990s and 2000s that most Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches witnessed splits and schisms which resulted in stagnation, as well as in the emergence of the new Prophet-led Churches. The new Prophet-led Churches are the newer Pentecostal-Charismatic churches that emerged mainly from the 2000s. The prophets and prophetesses of these churches or ministries tend to share a lot of common traits with early Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches of the 1940s, 1950s and

1960s. Although commenting on South African situation, Anderson's observation holds true in Zambian context when he writes that:

> Most of new African Prophet Churches and ministries vest the power of the church or ministry in the prophet/prophetess or bishop and no one may defy him or her in public. Sadly, the prophet/prophetess or bishop is present everywhere through his or her pictures and symbolic items that followers use. Since the prophet/prophetess or bishop wields irrevocable powers as the 'chief' person, when for example, moral failure occurs, the church or ministry collapses with the prophet/prophetess or bishop.[268]

The interviewees argued that despite these setbacks, active decline for Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches is still a way off. Although Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic revivalism may have declined since 2000s, they suggest that a contemporary routine of evangelistic operations, especially through mass media and the internet, are proving to be effective, and it is through these means that most of the growth is taking place in most Neo-Pentecostal Churches. Furthermore, half of interviewees revealed that there are more young people in the Neo-Pentecostal Churches than in Classical Pentecostal Churches. While the other half of interviewees stated that the high numbers of converts into the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the 2000s and 2010s show that adults and influential people in society too are being converted. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees strongly believed that the Neo-Pentecostal enterprise has not become static, but is set to build on its 1980s and 1990s successes.

[268] See Allan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2000), 212.

5.9.1. The Role of Dr. Nevers Mumba in the Growth, Evolution and Stabilisation of Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia

Photo 3: Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba

Source: afmzambia.com

The Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, like any other organisation, is a human institution, without a life of its own or independent entity, being impacted by individuals. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that the Zambian Neo-Pentecostalism came about through key leaders, such as Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba who orchestrated the nationwide 1980s and 1990s revivals in Zambia. Land describes the spirituality of

Pentecostalism as "having at its heart, a passion for God's kingdom."[269] Therefore, it was not surprising that interviewees stated that they could not think of a better example of an indigenous Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic preacher who to such an obvious degree realised his God-given dream as Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba. Dr. Mumba was born into a middle-class family in 1960 in Chinsali District, in the Northern Province. According to Mumba, he grew up in a religious home. However, no one in his family 'truly' honoured God.[270] Dr. Mumba is locally and internationally recognised as a Pentecostal-Charismatic televangelist. He converted to Pentecostalism through Scripture Union (SU) meetings while he was at Hillcrest Technical High School in Livingstone, Southern Province of Zambia at the age of seventeen in 1977.[271]

In 1981, Dr. Mumba met the Germany international Pentecostal evangelist Reinhard Bonnke and became his interpreter. Gifford writes that "Reinhard Bonnke of Christ for all Nations (CfaN) sponsored Nevers Mumba to study theology in Dallas, Texas, in the United States of America after been greatly impressed with his oratory and interpreting skills."[272] After two years of theological studies, Dr. Mumba returned to Zambia and introduced national and international evangelistic Gospel campaigns. He also encouraged indigenous Pentecostal-Charismatic pastors and all Zambian Christians to get involved in nationwide evangelistic endeavours.[273] According to all one hundred and fifteen interviewees, Dr. Mumba

[269] Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 60-61.
[270] The Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), "Nevers Mumba: Zambia for Christ," accessed January 4, 2013, http://www.l.cbn.com/700club/nevers-mumba-zambia-christ.
[271] According to Dr. Mumba's own account, when Winsome David Broomes preached to him, he was converted to Pentecostalism and began preaching the 'Full Gospel' after he was baptised in the Holy Spirit.
[272] Paul Gifford, *The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 233.
[273] After his 1984 graduation, Dr. Mumba returned to Zambia from the U.S.A. and started Victory Bible Church (VBC) in Kitwe with only twelve members. See Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), *Nevers Mumba: Zambia for Christ*.

distinguished himself and 'unofficially' became a central figure in the 1980s and 1990s Pentecostal-Charismatic revival in Zambia. Cheyeka writes that:

> Dr. Nevers Sewila Mumba is the first recognised national and international exponent of the Zambia Pentecostal-Charismatic consciousness. He is the one who identified the huge potential of a planned Pentecostal-Charismatic revival on the Copperbelt, the midlands, Lusaka and outlining areas and gave impetus to the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement there in the mid-1980s and throughout the 1990s.[274]

Dr. Mumba open expression of the view that Zambian people needed to be evangelised by their own local Zambian preachers was recalled by eighty-six percent of interviewees. During one of his 'Zambia Shall Be Saved' television broadcast, Dr. Mumba preached that:

> Zambians, the blacksmiths themselves, must do the evangelisation of Zambia. We are not copycats of Westerners. I know, I am dealing with sensitive issues here, but we must be original. We must rediscover our identity as Zambians. If we do not learn to be original, we shall surrender ourselves to others. Yes! I am rebelling. Yes, Zambia must be evangelised by the blacksmiths.[275]

Whereas for a long period of time, the national broadcaster, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) television had been dominated by foreign international Pentecostal-Charismatic televangelists such as Jimmy Swaggart, Ernest Angley, Benny Hinn, Joyce Meyer, T. D. Jakes, Derrick Prince, Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, Ralph Mahoney and John Wimber, Dr. Mumba decided to rise to the challenge of evangelising the Zambian people through electronic media. Although the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia had already made good use of print media and religious broadcasting, Dr. Mumba came to appropriate the available electronic media with a zeal that almost became a defining characteristic of the 1980s and 1990s Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic revival.

[274] Cheyeka, *Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Zambia*, 157.
[275] Dr. Nevers S. Mumba, Recorded Telecast on the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (September 24, 1995).

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees acknowledged that in the 1980s and 1990s, most indigenous Pentecostal-Charismatic preachers and pastors were considered as uneducated. This negative stereotype according to interviewees, came mainly from the Zambian secular media, the leaders of the Catholic Church, leaders of the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches, Islamic leaders and leaders in the academic fraternity. However, interviewees asserted that it was the ministry of Dr. Mumba that gave Zambian Pentecostalism visibility, first among ecumenical leaders of Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches and the Roman Catholicism.

Three quarters of interviewees were keen to highlight that in 1988 Dr. Mumba became the first-ever indigenous Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic leader to run a highly successful radio and television programme, which was called '*Zambia Shall Be Saved*.' This was broadcasted from the Victory Bible Church in Kitwe and was first aired on the national television station the Zambia Nation Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC). All one hundred and fifteen interviewees asserted that '*Zambia Shall Be Saved*,' was and remains Dr. Mumba's slogan that he initiated in the 1980s, and this slogan has become a theme that he had adopted to accompany his Gospel meetings and television and radio broadcasts. Half of interviewees claimed that by running the television and radio broadcast, Dr. Mumba felt that he was giving the unsaved Zambians the rare opportunity to hear the Gospel of salvation. Interviewees further asserted that the overwhelming response Dr. Mumba received from his first television broadcast indicated that there were new opportunities for evangelism using mass media in the nation. Dr. Mumba's passion for the lost can be understood when viewed in continuity with the Full Gospel message described in the words of Land:

> The outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost constituted the Church as an eschatological community of universal mission in the power and demonstration of

> the Holy Spirit. The tongues at Pentecost and Peter's subsequent sermon meant that the Church in general and each Spirit-filled individual are to be and to give a witness to the mighty acts of God in saving humanity. This witness centres in Jesus Christ and must therefore, be given in the power of the Holy Spirit if it is to have continuity with His ministry and fulfil the promise of the Father through Christ. The 'Full Gospel' of Jesus who is the Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, Baptiser in the Holy Spirit and the Coming King can and should be proclaimed in the fullness of the Spirit so that the kingdom of God will be manifested amid the world in words and deeds.[276]

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees acknowledged that Dr. Mumba was able to successfully translate the 'Great Commission' (Matt. 28:16-20) into revival preaching, which created a very powerful momentum in the 1980s and 1990s throughout Zambia. In a manner also observed in revivals in contexts worldwide, Dr. Mumba's Full Gospel[277] revival preaching changed the history of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity, and the wider Zambian Church. Half of interviewees argued that it was Dr. Mumba who introduced new evangelistic techniques which he imported from mainly from North America, such as the use of Gospel Bands,[278] to attract people to his Gospel evangelistic campaigns, that became very effective in reaching thousands of Zambia people throughout the nation especially in the 1980s and 1990s. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees explained that it was Dr. Mumba who was the first indigenous Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic leader to initiate his famous Victory International Conferences. These conferences became the 'source' of great spiritual inspiration for thousands of non-Christians as well as Christians from all Zambian Christian streams. It was Dr. Mumba's 'Zambia Shall Be Saved' television and radio broadcasts that

[276] See Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 60-61.
[277] Nienkirchen writes that "the preaching of 'Christ-centred Gospel' and practise of the 'Foursquare Gospel' of Jesus as Saviour, Healer, Baptiser in the Holy Spirit and the Coming King has historically being in place in the Christian Missionary Alliance which was founded by Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919). Simpson coined the motto: 'Fourfold Gospel' in 1890 to summarise the Alliance's essential message of Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King. It was enshrined in his hymn, 'Jesus only is our message,' and was included in many Pentecostal hymns. James Bradley has demonstrated that the Pentecostal evangelist, Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944) 'borrowed' and adopted the motto in 1922 for the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, despite her claim to have received it by divine revelation." See Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992), 37.
[278] Dr. Mumba was the first indigenous Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic preacher to introduce the Public-Address Systems (PAS) to liven up his Gospel evangelistic campaigns; Gospel music was accompanied by electric guitars, drums, pianos, keyboards and other modern musical instruments.

helped to bring about spiritual awakening to so many people in Zambia especially in the 1980s and 1990s. This interviewees' perspective is supported by Cheyeka who writes that "there were massive conversions during Dr. Nevers Mumba-organised and led Victory International Conferences, television and radio broadcasts. Therefore, many local Zambian preachers from all streams of Zambian churches were challenged to begin to evangelise their own people."[279] It is not surprising that on August 9, 1998, the Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) Zambia was officially launched by the Republican President Chiluba. Although the TBN Zambia is owned by American Pentecostals, Dr. Dan Pule of Dunamis Ministry, a Zambian, became its Chief Executive Officer (CEO). In conversation with the author, half of interviewees claimed that Dr. Mumba's concern for home mission was also accompanied by an interest in foreign missions. This was an indicator that a significant shift was taking place in the life of Zambian Pentecostalism. The impact of Dr. Mumba's nationwide revivalism, led him beyond the borders, to open international denominations in Canada, North America, Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This was very significant for Pentecostal-Charismatic growth mainly in Central and Southern African.

5.9.2. Accounting for Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba's Evangelistic Successes

When it comes to Christian revivalists, they can be divided into those who leave a legacy and those who do not. Interviewees claimed that undoubtedly, Dr. Mumba is intensely revivalistic in character. He strongly believes that an ecstatic awakening is the essence of Zambian Pentecostalism. Hence, all interviewees described him as a legend, and that he is evidently the most successful revivalist and evangelist ever seen in Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic

[279] Cheyeka, "Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches," 153.

history. An assertion mentioned by sixty percent of interviewees placed Dr. Mumba's converts mostly within un-churched people, whom he converted during his nationwide evangelistic Gospel campaigns, Victory International Conferences, as well as the television and radio broadcasts. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees acknowledged that the Victory International Conferences were simply the major 'revival gatherings,' which reflected the 1980s and 1990s Pentecostal-Charismatic revivalism in the mission led by Dr. Mumba and resulted in a legacy of the establishment of hundreds of new Neo-Pentecostal Churches throughout Zambia. All the interviewees firmly believed that it was the ministry of Dr. Mumba as a revivalist that caused an extraordinary awakening in the entire nation of Zambia. This was the case because Dr. Mumba has the capabilities as a revivalist evangelist that are characterised by an unpretentious and unsophisticated approach. Interviewees stated that within six years, (1984-1990), Dr. Mumba was able to successfully establish churches all over the country and beyond Zambian borders. According to all one hundred and fifteen interviewees, the years 1982 to 2000 were the golden years of Dr. Mumba's remarkable revivalistic evangelistic success when, almost without exception, every town and city he visited saw him conduct evangelistic revival meetings. The crowds who attended these meetings did not merely listen to him but responded in large numbers to the message of salvation and the call for true conversion.

Furthermore, interviewees argued that no one could doubt the positive impact that the Victory International Conferences led by Mumba had on the general Zambian religious landscape. Interviewees made it clear that it was a pronounced awareness of his God-give role as a revival evangelist, that allowed Dr. Mumba to legitimately advance the claim that 'Zambia

Shall Be Saved.' All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that as a televangelist,[280] Dr. Mumba's emphasis on use of literature, radio and television helped Zambian Pentecostalism to develop a nationwide ministry and identity. This interviewees' claim is echoed by Cheyeka who writes that:

> Nevers Sekwila Mumba is recognised as the 'first' ever indigenous Zambian Christian leader to be referred to as the 'televangelist' who promoted the 'born again' consciousness, when he identified the potential of a Pentecostal-Charismatic revival on the Copperbelt, Kapiri Mposhi, Kabwe, Lusaka and across the country and gave the impetus to Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic movement.[281]

There was full agreement in the accounts of all one hundred and fifteen interviewees in affirming that it was in the hands of the emblematic figure Dr. Mumba that the 'planned' Pentecostal-Charismatic brand of Zambian revivalism of the 1980s and 1990s evolved and developed.

5.10. Chapter Conclusion

The process of compiling the results of interview data supported by written records where available indicate that, contrary to existing studies, the historical roots of Zambian Pentecostalism can be traced back to the pre-denominational period, that is, between the late 1930s and 1940s when the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia broke away from the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches. Prophetess Alice Lenshina played a significant role in promoting the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches especially between the 1950s and 1960s.

[280] Televangelist is a portmanteau of 'television' and 'evangelist' which was first coined by the Time Magazine in 1988. See *Time Magazine*, 75th Anniversary Issue (March 9, 1998).
[281] Cheyeka, "Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonial Zambia," 153-154.

Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia owe their origins to the missionary activities of the early Pentecostal missionaries such as Joel Chidzakazi Phiri, Jack and Winsome Muggleton and David Winston Broomes who came to Zambia to spread the Classical Pentecostal message. It was the enduring ministry and fruit of international Pentecostal missionaries that led to the establishment of Zambian Classical Pentecostal Churches such as the Apostolic Faith Church in Zambia (AFZ), the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Zambia (PAOGZ), the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia (AFMZ), the Full Gospel Church (Church of God) and the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Zambia (PHCZ).

The 1980s and 1990s broader national economic and socio-political contexts provided a favourable environment in which the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia emerged and flourished. Unlike the Classical Pentecostal Churches, the Neo-Pentecostal Churches were started by individuals or with the help of other Pentecostal-Charismatic churches within or outside of Zambia. Since the 1980s, Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba has played a major role in promoting Neo-Pentecostalism in the nation of Zambia.

The next chapter will outline and discuss the theologies and practices of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches.

PART THREE

THE THEOLOGY AND PRACTICES OF ZAMBIAN PENTECOSTALISM

CHAPTER SIX

THEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES OF ZAMBIAN PENTECOSTAL-CHARISMATIC CHURCHES

6.0. Introduction

A range of Pentecostal-Charismatic beliefs and practices are encountered across all three of its church streams in Zambia. There is a relative scarcity of structured writing and record keeping of many Pentecostal-Charismatic churches' doctrinal beliefs or theologies, because orality instead of written documentation is still the dominant means of communication and of transmission of ideas and thoughts. This chapter will pay attention broadly to the main doctrinal beliefs of the three Pentecostal-Charismatic streams and how these beliefs are understood within the context of Zambian Pentecostalism. This will involve a continuous and simultaneous critique of the observable spiritual phenomenon and experiences of the trends in the development of Pentecostal-Charismatic theologies and practices. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section 6.1 is a summary of general Pentecostal-Charismatic hermeneutics in Zambia. Section 6.2 discusses the theologies and practices of the Zambian Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. Section 6.3 discusses and evaluates the theologies and practices of the Zambian Classical Pentecostal Churches. Section 6.4 moves on to discuss the theologies and practices of the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches, and section 6.5 concludes the chapter.

6.1. A Summary of General Pentecostal Hermeneutics in Zambian Pentecostalism

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that each of the three traditions of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic groups create their own hermeneutic in one way or another. Indeed, Zambian Pentecostalism, like its global counterpart, holds the Bible in high esteem as the authoritative word of God for doctrine and practice.[282] As Ojo stresses:

> Although Pentecostals-Charismatics regard the Bible as the final authority in matters of life and doctrine, it needs to be acknowledged that doctrines and theology are not formulated in a vacuum but in the crucibles of the religious, cultural, socio-political and economic experiences and worldviews of a people within a particular time frame.[283]

Such an observation applies equally to Zambian Pentecostalism. The way the Bible is encountered and has been used with respect to experiences and worldviews within each of the Pentecostal-Charismatic streams in Zambia needs to be central to a theological overview. The fundamental hermeneutical principle among Pentecostal-Charismatics is the belief that the experience and practice of contemporary Christianity should be identifiable as consistent with New Testament Christianity. Anderson in his summary of present-day Pentecostal-Charismatic hermeneutics lists the essential characteristics and outlines the stance of Pentecostal-Charismatic hermeneutics in certain category.[284] His categories form an expedient framework around which to discuss Pentecostal-Charismatic hermeneutcs in Zambia and will be utilised in the following section headings.

---

[282] Russell P. Spittler, "Implicit Values in Pentecostal Missions," *Missiology: An International Review*, vol. 16, no. 4 (October 1988): 409-424.
[283] Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 181-184.
[284] Gordon L. Anderson, "Pentecostal Hermeneutics Part 2," Paraclete, vol. 28, no. 1 (1994) http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/top/holyspirit_articledisplay.cfm?targetBay=1b574def-b227-4617-bfc7-a02cdb926902&ModID=2&Process=DisplayArticle&RSS_RSSContentID=15178&RSS_OriginatingChannellD=1170&RSS_OriginatingRSSFeedID=4486&RSS_Source. Assessed November 13, 2017.

6.1.1. Exegetical Method

According to the interviewees, Gloria and David Winstone Broomes were the two main proponents of the use of exegetical methods in the early years of Pentecostalism in Zambia. Both insisted on employing the same historical-grammatical methods as other Evangelicals, and considering the Zambian cultural setting, and maintaining that a clear and uniform message is accessible in the Scriptures irrespective of culture and era. Both Gloria and Winstone's contribution to the formulation of some classical Pentecostal theologies and practices throughout the 1970s was enormous.[285] According to eighty-eight percent of interviewees, the Broomes became likeable Bible teachers especially among young Zambians, because of their effervescent charismatic nature and their joyful enthusiasm. Chalwe similarly reports that "as Bible teachers, the Broomes strongly believed that one of the main ways the 'Full Gospel' classical Pentecostal message was going to be promoted in Zambia was by mostly teaching it to the young people in high schools, colleges and universities."[286] All the one hundred and fifteen interviewees were aware that by promoting the exegetical methods in Classical Pentecostal Churches, the Broomes greatly helped the stabilility of Classical Pentecostalism indirectly contribution to the impetus to the 1970s Pentecostal revival in the nation of Zambia.

6.1.2. Pneumatic Hermeneutic

A pneumatic hermeneutic is considered a valuable means of restoring to the biblical text the integral characteristic of the Holy Spirit as the most important element in the transmission

[285] Chalwe, *An Evaluation*, 42-43.
[286] Chalwe has observed that "Broomes did not neglect his call to reach out all Zambians of all ages." See, Chalwe, "An Evaluation of the Mission History of Pentecostal Assemblies of God," 43.

process from God to the believer.[287] All one hundred and fifteen interviewees asserted that Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic theology is essentially pneumatological in that it is spirit-based and focused. In other words, Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics believe in the contemporary activity and manifestations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the life of individual believer and in the ministry of the Church as the body of Christ. This implies that one can hear and receive messages from God through the operation of the Spirit in the form of dreams, visions, revelations and prophecies. In a sense, just like other Pentecostals-Charismatics, Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics consider the Bible to be an 'open' book. Thus, they expect God to speak to them as they read it. Nevertheless, Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches emphasise that no one is supposed to add to or subtract from the written word of God. Pentecostal-Charismatic believers are expected to be led by the Holy Spirit (Rom. 8:14). For instance, at meetings, all are encouraged to pray, to give financially or to raise a song as they are led by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, it is not uncommon to hear a phrase such as 'God told me,' which connotes a claim to special revelation from God.

Due to the subjective nature of this Pentecostal-Charismatic teaching, it is seen that in NT times the Apostle Paul highlighted the need and means of assessing spiritual utterances to ensure that the atmosphere when at worship was orderly and the church was not deceived (1 Cor. 14:26-33 and 1 Thes. 5:17-18). This approach of weighing spiritual utterances appears contrary to that of the Bereans who were commended in Acts 17:11 for searching and examining the Scriptures to confirm for themselves, having listened to Paul's preaching and teaching. Perceptions of oral and written distinctions as above, have led in Zambian Pentecostalism to the differentiation of 'God's Word' between two Greek words, *logos* (the

[287] Ervin, "*Hermeneutics: A Pentecostal Option*," 23.

general written word of God) and *rhema* (the specific understanding of the written word of God, when it is spoken or quickened by the Holy Spirit in one's spirit or mind for at any specific moment).[288] Jesus' response to Peter's statement about what the disciples thought of his identity is often cited as an example (Matt. 16:17). Such examples of divine revelation are used as the basis for some beliefs, teachings and practices in Zambian Pentecostalism. Usually, the concept will have some biblical foundation based on certain texts of the Scriptures. It is normal practice in Zambian Pentecostalism to select one of the promises of God in the Bible concerning healing, material and financial provision, deliverance, protection and other divine blessings, and begin to claim them in prayer for oneself.

6.1.3. Genre

Eighty percent of interviewees claimed that most Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics maintained that propositional biblical literature should have priority over biblical narrative. However, in reality, narrative as history, myth or legend has been an essential means of teaching religious truth in Zambian culture. Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics likewise teach that biblical narratives are true accounts, and that what God did in biblical times, he continues to do. The application of this principle involves the assumption that God works in the same way today as he did in the days of the Book of Acts. In practice, Zambian Pentecostals frequently extend this principle to the present applicability of God's acts that occurred in the Old Testament.

[288] Charles Farah, "Avoid Extremes in Healing," in *The Shepherd Staff*, ed. Ralph Mahoney (Burbank, CA: Word Map, 1993), Section D8, 95-97.

6.1.4. Theological Presuppositions (Doctrinal Acceptance)

The Pentecostal belief that supernatural events recorded in the pages of the Bible may also occur in the contemporary world[289] is considered 'an experiential presupposition'[290] present in the exegesis of Pentecostalism. In this trajectory, all one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics strongly believe and teach that there is continuity with the way God works since Old Testament (OT) and the New Testament (NT) times. Because of this, Pentecostal-Charismatics see God's kingdom as already present among his people, as evident in the signs of God's power and miracles, but in a state that is not yet complete. The effects of this Pentecostal-Charismatic position are significant for Pentecostal hermeneutics, and in the contribution their hermeneutic has made to other interpreters. Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic believers teach that since God acted in history, they can read through biblical events (narrative literature) to see what God is like. When comparing the number of Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics teachers who have adopted this theological presupposition, Dr. Mumba stands out far ahead of the rest. It is not surprising that all one hundred and fifteen interviewees asserted that it was specifically through Dr. Mumba's teaching that Zambian Pentecostalism has managed to theologically orientate itself towards the restoration of a biblical and apostolic life and the proclamation of the Full Gospel to the nation.

6.1.5. Historical and Personal Experience

For Pentecostals-Charismatics, personal interpretations of the text are informed by their experience with God.[291] In this same vein, all one hundred and fifteen interviewees made the

[289] Arrington, "*The Use of the Bible*," 105.
[290] Stronstad, "*Pentecostal Experience and Hermeneutics*," 17.
[291] Kärkkäine, *Toward a Pneumatological Theology*, 28.

assessment that, in general, the experience of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics has proceeded their hermeneutics. Ervin observes that "where Pentecostals-Charismatics have encountered God in a given setting, that often subsequently determines how they respond to a particular issue as referred to in the Bible."[292] While Clark writes, "Pentecostal theology demands more than *belief* in an experience – it demands the *experience* of the experience itself."[293] All one hundred and fifteen interviewees held the view that for Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics, to know God is to experience him. Bond writes that "Theology follows experience. First comes the act of God, then follows the attempt to understand it."[294] Again all one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that nearly all Pentecostals-Charismatics in Zambia tend to exegete their own experience rather than the text. This applies to both their present-day experience of salvation and their charismatic experience.

Anderson vividly portrays the community life, worship, emphasis and mission of African "pentecostal type" churches as a highly dynamic and experiential, and 'intuitive' in their encounters with God.[295] It follows that any doctrine that cannot be experienced might simply be viewed, in this case by its Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic hearers, as an ideal principle, a philosophical conceptualisation and an academic exercise, which does not stand out as particularly worthy of believing. Given their experiencial expectations, Pentecostals-Charismatics are in their element teaching that God is omnipotent, able to heal the sick, deliver those in bondage, and save the lost. In practice, Pentecostal-Charismatics seek to demonstrate that God can fulfil his functional and utilitarian purposes through their

[292] Howard M. Ervin, '*Hermeneutics: A Pentecostal Option*," 11-25.
[293] Clark and Lederle (eds), *What is Distinctive*, 40. (italics in original).
[294] J. S. W. Bond, "What is Distinctive About Pentecostal Theology?" in *What Is Distinctive*, eds. Mathew S. Clark and Henry I. Lederle, 133-142.
[295] Anderson, *African Reformation*, 206-208.

ministries. This is one of the factors that inform their reliance on teaching on the subject of miracles. The danger of building doctrines on the foundation of personal or corporate experience is that, if experience becomes the interpreter of the bible, rather than the bible interpreting experience, the door is open to abuse by its teachers. On the other hand, it is important to note that the Bible has much to say about the personal experiences with and through God, or what the Pentecostal-Charismatics might refer to as 'divine encounters.' This theological position is confirmed in the Pentecostal-Charismatic perspective by the various encounters with God and his acts of power in the accounts of the lives of biblical characters like Abraham, Moses, Joseph, David, the twelve apostles and Paul. Hence, the case could be argued that experience cannot and should not be excluded as part of the establishment of doctrines and Christian concepts that rely on the bible as a guide for Christian praxis. It is against the backdrop of the above summary of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic hermeneutics, that the study will now turn to outline and discuss some key theological perspecives and practices in Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches.

6.2. THEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES OF THE PROPHETIC AND PENTECOSTAL-TYPE OF CHURCHES

Although eighty-three percent of interviewees believed that the bible had been the primary authority behind their beliefs and teachings, some seven percent claimed that observation and experience appeared to have played a hugely significant role in the formulation ethos of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. Owing to the nature of these experiences, the similarities between the developing theologies in the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type Churches and those of the Classical and Neo-Pentecostal churches will have involved similar emphases on divine healing and prophecy. In fact, nearly half of the interviewees agreed that

the common denominator between the Classical and Neo-Pentecostal Churches has been the pneumatic ingredient in the emphasis on the experience of the power of the Holy Spirit. Fifty-two percent of interviewees stated that when classical Pentecostalism arrived in Zambia in the late 1950s, it encountered the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches which were involved in casting out demons, interpretation of dreams, seeing visions, healing of the sick through prayer, fasting and use of blessed or holy water,[296] in destruction of shrines and evil bushes,[297] renunciation of the cults and cultism, confronting of witches and sorcerers, burning of occult materials and speaking prophetic utterances. According to fifty percent of interviewees it was these contentious beliefs and practices that helped the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches to be relevant to the unmet existential needs of the Zambian people. The other half of interviewees further revealed that it was these factors that remained as the underlying driving forces for the indigenisation and growth of localised forms of Pentecostalism in Zambia and the development of Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' theologies and practices.

However, fifty percent of interviewees pointed out that although the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches emphasised holiness ('*bumushilo*'), the power of prayer in dealing with life issues and spiritual and physical healing, they were not considered as Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches, because their members never spoke in other tongues, nor

[296] Blessed or holy water refers to water which has been prayed over to sanctify it by the prophet or prophetess for use by people for their healing, protection against witchcraft, poisoning and diseases, and other blessings as desired by an individual who seeks for help.
[297] According to Daniel, evil bushes are lands and forests dedicated to evil spirits, demons and idols or deities and where the bodies of people who allegedly committed abominations, or suicide or died of strange diseases in the community are thrown. See Onyechi Daniel, *Waging War with Knowledge: Doing Strategic and Bold Intercession* (Port Harcourt: Spiritual Life Publications, 2003), 184.

viewed it as being either a present evidence or the initial evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. The other fifty percent of the interviewees acknowledged that Prophetic and

Pentecostal-type Churches have not spelt out their theologies systematically. Nevertheless, over half of the interviewees asserted that the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches promoted and popularised practices which would prove receptive to contemporary Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic beliefs. A significant forty-seven of interviewees argued that although the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches drew some of their inspiration from external models, these churches eventually became vehicles for the expression of indigenous Pentecostal-Charismatic spirituality, as shown by the emphases on healing and wholeness, spiritual vitality and encounters with the Holy Spirit, 'other-worldliness,' holiness, evangelism, salvation, exorcism and prophecy.

Focus will now turn to specific aspects of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' theologies and practices. Although forty-eight percent of interviewees thought that not all these theologies and practices which will be discussed below applied consistently to this type of church in Zambia, a similar fifty-two percent affirmed that most of it applies in many such churches. The following headings highlight particular elements of Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' theologies and practices that are broadly representative of the spirituality of many of these churches.

6.2.1. Salvation

Clifton writes that "the cultural diversity of Pentecostalism articulates salvation in various ways, often in the vernacular, sometimes through inherited Christian traditions, at other times

with strong indigenous religious roots."[298] More than half of the interviewees claimed that the perception of salvation among the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches is not only limited to people's understanding of God, but extends to their understanding of the word 'salvation.' In his article describing ὸ σωτηρ ήμων 'our salvation' as an African Experience, Mbiti examines the traditional linguistic and cultural meanings of the word 'salvation' and finds that abstract nouns such as 'salvation' or 'redemption' are never used in traditional life. For a meaning to be clear to African people its conceptualisation needs to be formulated more practically. He finds that verbs such as 'to save' and 'to redeem' are used to describe rescue from practical situations such as illness, famine, drought, danger and other perilous situations.[299] Wariboko argues that Pentecostalism in Africa has engaged with African traditional religious thought in ways that emphasise empowerment as a pre-requisite for the daily struggle for salvation.[300]

More than half of the interviewees revealed that in the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, the rise of the teaching on salvation has been directly connected to the belief among the leaders that the gospel was not just for spiritual restoration, but the 'total' restoration of the whole human being: spirit, soul and body. A significant fifty-seven percent of interviewees asserted that most of the leaders of these Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches believed that salvation was a spiritual phenomenon and an enterprise which set the ground for the re-birth of the three components of the human person, namely, the spirit, the soul and the body. Although the theological question about the essential nature of the human

[298] See Clifton R. Clark, *African Christology: Jesus in Post-Missionary African Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 106-121.
[299] See John Mbiti, "ὸ σωτηρ ήμων" as an African Experience of Salvation Today," in *Living Faiths and Ultimate Goals*, ed. S. J. Samartha (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1974), 112.
[300] Wariboko, *Nigerian Pentecostalism*, 30-33.

person has been an age-long debate, the state of the individual as a tripartite being[301] has been the understanding promoted by leaders of these Zambian Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. According to sixty-one percent of interviewees, this position gave rise to the view amongst the followers of these churches that humankind was a spirit, had a soul and lived in a body. This view was instrumental in the re-definition of the concept of salvation in terms of what it meant for the leaders of these Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. Theologically, it was this holistic approach that seeks for the transformation of the person from sin, sickness, disease, poverty, oppression, limitations and other forms of bondage (3 John 2). However, it is imperative to emphasise that any parallel between local culture and biblical teaching on salvation as believed and taught in the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches should not be interpreted as a 'wholesale' derivation and importation of the doctrine from African Traditional Religion. Nearly half of the interviewees claimed that the Bible and divine revelation by God's Spirit were strongly claimed by the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches as the source of the teaching rather than influences from their traditional worldview.

This doctrinal position is understandable and should be viewed against the background of the common outlook of Pentecostals-Charismatics seeking to demonise and break away from the past, not least from traditional indigenous beliefs and practices.[302] A still significant forty-four percent of interviewees claimed that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches believed in the immediacy of God's presence as long as one has set out on path of repentance and new birth; and that expectancy of God's direct intervention in one's life was a sign of

[301] For a fuller discussion on this subject see Wayne Grudem, *Bible Doctrines: Essential Teachings of the Christian Faith* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1999), 193-196.
[302] Birgit Meyer, "Make a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostal Discourse," *JRA*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1998): 326-332.

faith. More than half of the interviewees claimed that the hallmarks of any member of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches Christian were church attendance, the avoidance of charms, dreams and sacrifices to ancestors. Thus, the main message of the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches was freedom from sin, victory over sickness, Satan and demons, God's judgement, heaven and hell. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees asserted that in all these churches, the message of salvation from sin was widely preached with a sense of urgency. All interviewees claimed that this was also demonstrated in the songs and hymns that were composed mainly by Prophetess Lenshina and in songs that were sung at various gatherings and in homes. In summary, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches provided a holistic theology of salvation that saw salvation not exclusively in terms of salvation from sinful acts and eternal condemnation in the hereafter, but also in terms of salvation from sickness (healing), from evil spirits (exorcism), and from other forms of misfortunes.

6.2.2. Healing and Wholeness

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees agreed that in Zambia, healing is considered a function of Christian religion. It was not surprising that healing became the main feature of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches between 1940s and 1970s. The nature and theologies of these churches addressed the realities of Zambia during this time, where most Zambians were aspiring to healing and wholeness. More than half of the interviewees claimed that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches saw their religious vocation in terms of combating the forces of evil in the Zambian society, where people already understood that the spirits could cause spiritual disorder in community. Hence, leaders placed emphasis on spiritual healing and exorcism, combating traditional beliefs with the language

of the Pentecostal-Charismatic revival. Most interviewees (90 out of 115) asserted that healing and wholeness were considered by the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches as the will of God for all Zambian people. These leaders taught that healing signified the contrast between God's will and the human condition. The salvation of the soul and the redemption of the physical body were preached as intertwined through the death of Christ, who took upon himself human sin, sickness and death. According to seventy-seven percent of interviewees the concept of healing in these churches was as a ritual involving the entire community in which the individual's response to God was embedded. People were asked to bring themselves (their lives, faith sins, circumstances, illnesses, problems, fears, hopes) to a meeting with God.

Along this same vein, sixty-two percent of interviewees noted that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' perspective on healing was not only limited to the spiritual, that is, salvation from sin and physical, but encompassed the healing of any limitations in the life of a believer. This more encompassing perspective of healing resonates with the African traditional worldviews.[303] However, the understanding of these churches was biblically based, such as on Deuteronomy 28:42-44, 59-61. Within this type of church there was a strong commonality in the emphasis on healing and the intensity of relationship with the Old Testament, which made them draw their beliefs and teachings largely from Old Testament texts. The heavy dependence by these churches on the Old Testament texts on salvation provided critics with greater weapon to attack their doctrine on healing and wholeness, a point arged by under half of the interviewees. Over half claimed that many of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches took on board the vocabulary of 'Godly prosperity,' and

[303] Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "'Born of Water and the Spirit': Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in Africa," in *African Christianity: An African Story*, ed. Ogbu U. Kalu, 401.

spoke of blessings and the fullness of life and spiritual healing. Leaders taught that God's protection and intervention reveals itself in special ways through spiritual healing and deliverance. Doctrines and practices of this nature were enforced by Prophetess Lenshina, who was a fiery preacher and charismatic leader championing the renunciation of evil traditional beliefs and practices, the destruction of idols and fetishes, and advocating both physical and spiritual healing through prayer. According to sixty-one percent of interviewees, this boosted the image, message and practices of Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, and the use of spiritual tools and gifts in dealing with life issues. It also marked the elementary development of the belief of spiritual and physical healing in Zambia, which is a core teaching of the modern Pentecostal movement, as well as being a pre-cursor to the opposition to both traditional and western medicine by Zambian classical Pentecostals.

According to half of the interviewees, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia followed specific means of healing. Initially, the ministry of deliverance dealt with aspects of setting individuals free from demonic possession, rather than with issues arising from their ancestral connections or backgrounds. Healing of the sick through prayer, the renunciation of the cults and occultism, the confrontation of witches and sorcerers was practiced. Against the backdrop of these characteristics as identifiers for classification, about forty-five percent of interviewees suggested that in Zambia, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches ranged from those which were indistinguishable from most products of Christian western missions, to cults that were a revival of traditional religions with little more than a few elements of Christian ethos. In this regard, it is apparent that forty-five percent of interviewees find it difficult to distinguish between culture and traditional religion, an exercise that is still difficult to differentiate, since the culture is closely linked with religion. Nevertheless, the traditional healing practice was a good way of linking the Prophetic and

Pentecostal-type of Churches to Christian healing practices. According to more than half of the interviewees, the methods used in healing and exorcism differed from one Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Church to another. However, interviewees acknowledged that there were some commonalities in almost all the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, where prayers were said to command evil spirits behind diseases to leave, while most healers used ritual aids such as olive oil, crosses, incense, a ritualistic bath, and 'holy' water, but without any traditional use of indigenous herbs. Indeed, forty-seven percent of interviewees observed that only few healers in the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches used these aids in addition to the native herbs or western medicine in administering healing, but where used, the approaches of these healers demonstrated a blend of Christian faith and traditional practices.

The impetus behind ritualistic healing of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, as enhanced by means of ritual aids, was to strengthen those who were fearful of spiritual forces such as witchcraft and demons, so that they could face life without fear. A significant fifty-five percent of interviewees revealed that Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' methods of mediating and appropriating spiritual power for well-being and wholeness were often mixed with a few primal practices. In some of the rituals, diagnoses and prescriptions of these churches, reference was not made to any tribal or traditional deities, spirits, gods or ancestors. Afrong from his observations states that "whatever ritual or spiritual directions and methods the leaders of African spiritual churches employed, they were always justified by specific proof texts, narratives, commands and stories from the Bible."[304] As well as biblical justification, a further aspect differentiating from traditional religion is identified by Mildnerová, who observers that "unlike the traditional healing system that focuses on

[304] Afrong, *Salvation in African Christianity*, 1.

calming, settling down afflicting evil spirits in a possessed person, the Christian healing as practiced by the Zambian Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches resorted to their expulsion."[305] This suggests that at least the churches researched by Mildnerová were aligned with the broader Pentecostal-Charismatic notion of exorcism described as "a spiritual healing method referring to the expulsion of evil spirits or demons out of the person who was possessed or tormented and controlled by these spirits."[306] More than half of the interviewees claimed that the spirituality of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches did not develop in a vacuum, but they were shaped by their experiences. Hence, some of the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches used to heal people through prayer and a bit of traditional medicine. This claim by interviewees is echoed by Mildnerová who writes about the Zambian context that:

> Apart from prayers, blessing and casting out evil spirits, some prophets and prophetesses used various symbolic objects for healing such as holy water, anointing oil, robes, sticks, herbs and ash; the Bible on which their liturgy was based was also used as a ritual object in much the same way as the holy water.[307]

A fifth of interviewees, not insignificant given the specific nature of the topic, stated that it was not surprising that the use of ritual aids led many critics to question the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' healing methods that they applied when conducting healing. However, if as interviewees claimed attitudes and approaches to a theology of healing were shaped by the experience of healing, these may have run in different lines to perceived traditional medicine influences. Buter stated that, "a good example is the prophetess Alice

[305] Mildnerová, "African Independent Churches in Zambia (Lusaka)," 1-18.
[306] Burgess writes that "the believer draw on the Bible which mentions 'unclean' and 'evil' spirits causing various afflictions ranging from physical ailments to mental ailments and the continual fight against them; according to the Bible, Jesus came to 'destroy the works of the devil' (1 John 3:8), and his healing ministry as well as of his disciples granted the same authority as him, was closely linked to the practise of exorcism." See Stanley M. Burgess, *Encyclopaedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 189.
[307] Mildnerová explains that "in Mutumwa churches for example, laying of the Bible on the head or body of a sick person while praying was prominent while in Zion churches, the Bible was used as a divinatory tool for prophesying the patient's future." See Mildnerová, "African Independent Churches in Zambia (Lusaka)," 1-18.

Lenshina, whose remarkable recovery from cerebral malaria became the point of departure for her understanding and practice of healing."[308] Buter in his designation of Lenshina as a 'pioneer' in local Zambian Pentecostalism regarding healing ministry, suggests an understanding and approach which might be deemed appropriate to that of classical and Neo-Pentecostal healing ministry.[309] Buter reports that:

> Prophetess Alice Lenshina was considered as an eccentric preacher. She acquired fame as a 'genuine' healer. This prophetess taught people and emphasised healing and miracles as the manifestations of the Spirit of God. Therefore, miracles, signs and wonders and healing received a very important social and religious role in this prophetess' ministry. The major event which increased the publicity of prophetess Lenshina's ministry was the 'outbreak' of the healing phenomenon. This healing phenomenon, being new in most parts of Zambia attracted thousands of people to visit the prophetess' organisational headquarters at Kasomo. At Kasomo, thousands of people rarely went to get help from the *ng'angas* when they fell sick because Lenshina would anoint and lay her hands on them for healing; and this became the accepted normal procedure for conducting healing for the sick.[310]

According to twenty-nine percent of interviewees, the message of Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches helped underscore the notion that the blood of Jesus Christ was stronger and more powerful than other spiritual realities. As part of their ministry, people were 'covered' with the blood of Jesus through the prayers of the anointed leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. These leaders had the power and potent medicine of protection necessary to bar all witchcraft and demons from congregants' lives. Interviewees further stated that healings by the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were generally performed using the power of the Holy Spirit by laying of hands on the sick, by anointing the sick with oil and through prayer, in the manner encouraged in James 5:14-16 and in Classical Pentecostalism. Mildnerová's affirms that:

> A typical feature of the Zambian African Independent Churches was the focus on divine/spiritual healing and religious syncretism. The local traditional customs and

[308] Buter, "Prophetess Alice Lenshina," 19-20.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Ibid.

> belief in dangerous (evil) spirits, ancestral spirits, or witches were placed within the biblical religious framework where the Holy Spirit (‘*Muzimu Oyela*’) was the only source of healing whereas other ‘inferior spirits’ are labelled demons. The traditional methods of healing were creatively combined with Christian healing by means of prayer, spiritual blessings, laying of hands on sick people and demon exorcism. It was believed that only a body rid of evil spirits can receive the Holy Spirit and thus be healed.[311]

Phiri suggests that “healing was an area in which the indigenous Zambian African Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches distinguished themselves as churches whose spirituality was relevant to the needs of the contemporary context.”[312]

6.2.3. Holiness (‘*Bumushilo*’)

As many as seventy-nine percent of interviewees mentioned specifically that *bumushilo* (‘holiness’) was considered as one of the main characteristics of early Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia. The interviewees explained that in the Prophetic and Pentecostal Churches, holiness was often interpreted allegorically to mean separation from the world. On the other hand, less than half of interviewees claimed that in the Prophetic and Pentecostal Churches, holiness was the requirement for being connected to God. It was suggested that this interesting dimension of holiness in the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches was derived biblically (Heb. 12:14). In other words, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches believed that God is holy, thus believers needed also to be holy (Lev. 11:44). These churches were highlighting the notion of the body being the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 6:16-17). It is evident that the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal Churches were following the religious ideal of holiness that characterises global Pentecostalism. Some fifty-nine percent of interviewees claimed that the leaders of Prophetic

[311] Mildnerová, “African Independent Churches in Zambia (Lusaka),” 1-18.
[312] Phiri, *African Pentecostal Spirituality*, 134.

and Pentecostal-type of Churches championed a holiness spirituality agenda and sought a deeper understanding within localised Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. Furthermore, interviewees stated that although the leaders of these churches lacked pastoral and theological training, their proselytising activities were remarkable and daring. Holiness was fundamental to all of leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches who taught and emphasised holy living. More than half of the interviewees asserted that it became very clear that Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches' emphasis on holy living was having a positive impact when some of the Zambians including Christians from the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches, who were called to repentance from various evil associations. Clearly, the issue of holiness which was being advocated for by the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches brought sin to the fore and produced an awakening for many Zambians who became conscious of the need to walk in purity before God. Hence, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were successful in facilitating a tendency towards a life of holiness by stressing the possibility of the eradication of sinful activities in Zambia.

6.2.4. Spiritual Vitality and Encounter with the Spirit of God

More than half of the interviewees revealed that the distinguishable element of the Zambian Prophetic and Pentecostal Churches involved the supernatural. According to interviewees, this emphasis was understandable in a worldview that gave a huge place to spirit beings and their hierarchies. The human personality was the agent of the spirit, for whom the spirit lived, worked and acted. Thus, there was a relationship, involvement and interaction between humans and spirits which could be appealed to in dealing with one's perceived enemies and situations. It was not surprising that the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches

maintained a robust outlook on spiritual vitality and the encounter with the Spirit of God. Over half of interviewees asserted that the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches excelled at Africanising some of the Christian liturgies without betraying its essential Christian character. This assertion by interviewees corresponds closely to Anderson's observation about the South African Pentecostal-Charismatic ethos when he writes that:

> African Pentecostals-Charismatics have Africanised Christian liturgy in a free and spontaneous way that does not betray its essential Christian character and liberates it from the foreignness of European forms. The African Pentecostals-Charismatics experience the living Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit and their lives have been radically changes as a result. This conversion or 'born again' experience has transformed their lives that they do not have time for traditional practices. Unlike any other church groups, they have almost unanimously rejected the ancestor cult and traditional divination and they also spurn the use of beer and tobacco. This indicates the radical break from their past that conversion represents.[313]

More than half of the interviewees asserted that the rapid growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches was the result of their intense and spontaneous spirituality. This assertion holds true because by nature the Zambian people wanted to experience God. Thus, the teachings of these churches on experiencing God helped so many people to feel accepted by God. Equally, by giving primacy to and promoting the experience of God's Spirit and charismatic gifts, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches became more attractive to Zambians. This assertion is in line with Bäeta's claim that "in their worship, the African Spiritual churches engage in activities which are either meant to invoke the Spirit of God or to be interpreted as signs of God's decent upon the worshippers."[314] To that extent, it can be suggested that the Zambian Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches shared the ethos of

[313] Anderson makes a similar observation after his investigation into the African understanding of the power of the Holy Spirit, called Moya in the Nguni languages. His summary of the African Pentecostal/Charismatic Movements' ethos is probably descriptive of many indigenous Pentecostal-Charismatic groups in the non-Western cultures. See Allan Anderson, *Bazalwene: African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1992), 119-120.
[314] C. G. Bäeta, *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of Some 'Spiritual' Churches* (London: SCM Press, 1962), 1.

the global Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. The assertion was made by fifty-one percent of interviewees that in most Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, emphasis was placed on the Holy Spirit. The Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches concentrated on, as Schoffeleer has noted, the "'Christianisation of Zambia' by placing the Spirit of God as the centre of their Christian message."[315] Furthermore, interviewees revealed that it was this emphasis on the work of the Spirit of God that has brought about a spiritual refreshing in the nation of Zambia. This understanding of the interviewees' is supported by Asamoah-Gyadu who notes that "God's Spirit which was being experienced by the African Spiritual churches was a 'Spirit of renewal,' a source of vitalising breath or energy for the growing splendour of God's church."[316]

6.2.5. Otherworldliness

More than half of interviewees revealed that in the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, suffering was accepted as part of the calling of the Christian, and 'making heaven' was a local expression for eventually entering the kingdom of heaven. Interviewees revealed that the biblical texts (Col. 3:1-4) which emphasised heaven, were often used to support this position. Leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches appealed to Colossians 3:1-4 to encourage their members to be more spiritually and heavenly minded rather than becoming engulfed in the pursuit of the mundane matters of this world known among the locals as '*ifyamwisonde*' (the things of this world). This demonstrates the extent to which eschatological factors informed the theology of suffering among the earliest Zambian Prophetic groups. Fifty-six percent of interviewees revealed that during the 1950s, 1960s and

[315] Schoffeleers uses the phrase 'second Christianisation.' See Jan M. Schoffeleers, quoted in *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana*, ed. Birgit Meyer (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 120.
[316] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Pentecostalism in Context," 9.

1970s the Prophetic believers were in the minority, misunderstood, hated and persecuted because of their emphasis on otherworldliness, holiness and their zeal for winning souls to Christ. It was generally believed in Zambian circles that leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches had an ethically dualistic worldview, that separated sharply between the sacred and profane, between good and evil. Such an understanding about these churches seems to have been commonly held information, irrespective of the critic's religious knowledge, as evident from the persecution targeting the Lenshina-led Lumpa church by the Kaunda's UNIP government. However, the Classical Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia, emerging after the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, were also wholly spiritually focussed religious groups, exclusively concerned with heavenly things.[317] Hollenweger offers a rather negative assessment of Pentecostal-Charismatic legalism and ethical rigorism and sees these views as derived from personal preparation for the eschatological wedding day of Jesus Christ, thus yeilding little benefit for, or interest in, the fellow human or the wider concerns of society.[318]

More than half of interviewees asserted that for the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, Christianity was a religion of inward devotion and was only important for the individual believer. It was therefore, not surprising that the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches interpretation and understanding of this Christian position of non-socio-political or community involvement appeared to have the backing of the New Testament texts (Matt. 6:19-34; Jn. 14; 18:36; 1 Cor. 7:31 and 1 Pet. 2:11). Furthermore, seventy-seven percent of interviewees affirmed that nearly all the leaders of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches repeatedly reminded their members never to look for the things

[317] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses* (London: Dent, 1973), 306-308.
[318] Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 399-410.

of this present world, but to be faithful to their heavenly King, Jesus Christ. Consequently, most members of these churches rejected worldly regimes to the point of refusing to pay taxes to the colonial authorities and the UNIP government of Dr. Kaunda.

6.3. THEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES OF CLASSICAL PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

In terms of doctrinal beliefs, Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia share similar elements with those of American Pentecostalism, which developed out of the Azusa Street mission led by William Seymour. The characteristics of the spirituality of global Pentecostalism have been described as:

> An oral liturgy, a narrative theology and witness, the maximum participation of the whole community in worship and service, the inclusion of visions and dreams into public worship, and an understanding of the relationship between body and mind manifested by healing through prayer.[319]

According to interviewees, baptism in the Holy Spirit, salvation, the centrality of Jesus Christ, holiness and sanctification, divine healing and eschatology were and remain the main theological emphases of the Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. A discussion of each of these emphases follows.

6.3.1. Baptism in the Holy Spirit and 'Initial' Physical Evidence

Douglas finds differences especially between 'baptism' and 'filling' with the Holy Spirit:

> The term 'Baptism of the Holy Spirit,' 'filling of the Holy Spirit,' the gifts of the Holy Spirit' and 'endued with the Holy Spirit' are similar. However, these terms are not the same. The term 'baptism' and 'filling' are opposite in meaning. 'Baptism'

[319] Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide*, 23, 269-275.

> implies immersion into something. While 'filling' implies putting something into the individual.[320]

However, all one hundred and fifteen interviewees stated that most Zambian classical Pentecostals consider these three biblical terms as one and the same pneumatological concept. Baptism in the Holy Spirit described in an early Pentecostal pamphlet is simply "a great experience in which God pours out or sheds upon a Christian the Holy Spirit from heaven and as a consequence, a Christian's whole body is enveloped or baptised with the Holy Spirit."[321] The Classical Pentecostal theological expectation, as applicable in Zambia, is that baptism in the Spirit is a deep, personal experience in which the regenerated and sanctified believer receives an unprecedented encounter with the Holy Spirit, providing empowerment for the Christian life.

Wessels defines speaking in tongues (*glossolalia*) as:

> The most dramatic instrument of empowerment in Pentecostal liturgy. No one who has gone through the bridge-burning, often embarrassing, exhilarating initial experience of *glossolalia* ever doubts that he or she has been called, sanctioned and empowered to speak to outsiders about his or her faith and to minister to whoever is in need.[322]

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that classical Pentecostal theology insists that the baptism in the Holy Spirit is manifested by glossolalia as the 'initial' and 'physical' evidence. Horton asserts that "speaking with tongues emphasises the observable and intensely personal nature of the baptism in the Spirit, the primary of the affections over doctrine and the importance of the charismatic dimension for Pentecostal theology."[323] Interviewees

---

[320] Alban Douglas, *God's Answers to Man's Questions: 100 Bible Lessons* (Three Hills, Alta: Evangelical Missionary Fellowship, 1966), 78-79.
[321] Emma N. Bell, "Questions and Answers," *Christian Evangel* (April 1919): 1-3.
[322] Francois Wessels, "Charismatic Christian Congregations and Social Justice: A South African Perspective," *Missionalia*, vol. 25, no. 3 (November 1997): 360-366.
[323] Stanley Horton, "Spirit Baptism: A Pentecostal Perspective," in *Perspectives on Spirit Baptism*, ed. Chad O. Brand (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2004), 46-48.

asserted that Zambian classical Pentecostals identify speaking with tongues' in terms of two forms of supernatural speech: the speaking in an existing human language not previously learned by the speaker, but understood by the hearers (xenolalia), and the speaking in an unknown heavenly tongue (glossolalia) that requires interpretation to be understood. In theory, the former is seen as instrument for the mission of the church, while the latter is typically understood as an expression of personal piety. Classical Pentecostals see in both forms of speech a physical manifestation confirming the baptism in the Holy Spirit and expressing its purposes. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that Zambian classical Pentecostals have looked consistently to the day of Pentecost[324] as the root symbol for understanding Spirit Baptism. In the 'Full Gospel,' Jesus is always the active party: the one who saves, sanctifies and baptises with the Holy Spirit. Thus, for classical Pentecostals, the experience of Spirit baptism is first and foremost an encounter with Jesus Christ. A majority eighty-six percent of interviewees understood that Zambian classical Pentecostals have consistently taught that for every genuinely 'born again' Christian an experience of God's Spirit is available as portrayed in the Bible.

More than half of the interviewees affirmed that Zambian classical Pentecostals are pre-occupied with the doctrine of speaking in tongues as the 'initial' physical evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit and with the phenomenon as an experience after 'new birth'. Predictably, all interviewees affirmed that that baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues (glossolalia) are distinctive to the Zambian Classical Pentecostal Churches. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees stated that classical Pentecostals find their support and foundation of the doctrine of 'speaking in tongues' biblically in various accounts in the book

[324] The most immediate perceived biblical report of a baptism in the Holy Spirit is the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost recorded in Acts 2.

of Acts. Furthermore, all the interviewees revealed that all classical Pentecostal denominations in Zambia subscribe to the doctrine that the 'initial' evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit is the ability to speak in tongues. This differs somewhat from international trends where some Classical Pentecostal individuals and churches no longer insist on initial evidence, sometimes simply because of the proportion of later generation members and leaders have not experienced or embraced the phenomenon themselves.[325] In other words, Azusa Street's early Pentecostal praxis arose out of the Holiness movements evolving secondary experience and Parnham's anticipation of the tongues of Acts as the sign of Baptism in the Holy Spirit, then formulated Classical Pentecostal doctrine arose out of tongues as common practice, but where tongues become less frequently used, this new praxis started to inform leanings in doctrine. Zambian Classical Pentecostals continue to reinforce initial evidence, through widespread practice of glossolalia. According to the interviewees, speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit is the doctrine that has made the classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia identifiably unique. This is echoed by Phiri who writes that:

> Classical Zambian Pentecostals are known for their strong emphasis on the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the practice of speaking in other tongues. For them, there are two important spiritual experiences: firstly, the new birth, and secondly, the baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in other tongues as evidence.[326]

As the Zambian Classical Pentecostal church position is in line with the historically formulated Classical Pentecostal position, the topic of initial evidence will be discussed in more detail in section 6.4.1, where it affects Neo-Pentecostals.

[325] For example, in the Elim churches, at whose college my study program has been based, statistics have been collected that demonstrate falling glossolalia usage. See David Petts' article "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The Theological Distinctive" in *Pentecostal Perspectives,* ed. Keith Warrington (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998), 98-119.
[326] Phiri, *African Spirituality*, 71.

Over three quarters of interviewees alleged that some pastors in the Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia teach that the experience of a 'second blessing,' that is a 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' must be additional to water baptism. This is in line with Bruner who summed up the classical Pentecostal's *raison d'etre* as "being a salvation experience followed by a subsequent experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit with initial evidence of speaking in other tongues and the key ingredient in the Pentecostal experience of the 'infilling' of the Holy Spirit."[327] Most interviewees (101 out of 115) asserted that Zambian Classical Pentecostal Christians perceive baptism in the Holy Spirit as subsequent to both salvation and the reception of the Holy Spirit. This classical Pentecostal Christians' interpretation of subsequent post-conversion receptions of spiritual gifts, and post-conversion experience of being filled with the Holy Spirit can be found in Pauline literature (Eph. 2:22; 5:18 and cf. 1 Pet. 2:5).

6.3.2. Salvation (new birth) and Discipleship

Ninety-three percent of interviewees suggested that Zambian classical Pentecostals strongly believe that salvation is a supernatural work of God whereby someone really does become a new creature, not implying a spiritual metaphor, but as a reality. The word salvation is derived from the Greek word, *soteria* implying health and wholeness,[328] see Divine Healing (6.3.4) for salvation and healing relationships. Considering this, salvation has been described,

[327] Bruner states that "however, the classical Pentecostal find his or her distinct *raison d'etre* in what is crucial to him or her; his or her faith in the supernatural extraordinary and visible work of the Holy Spirit in post-conversion experience of the believer today as he or she would insist in the days of the apostles. Pentecostalism wishes, in brief, to be understood as experiential Christianity, with its experience culminating in the baptism of the believer in the Holy Spirit evidenced, as at Pentecost by speaking in other unknown tongues. This experience with the Holy Spirit should continue, as in the Early Church, in the exercise of the spiritual gifts privately and then publicly in the Pentecostal gatherings where the gifts have their most significant sphere of organisation." See Frederick D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1973), 20-21.

[328] See Chris Sherlock, *The Doctrine of Humanity* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1996), 212-213.

for example in the Korean church, as fully encompassing, incorporating physical, psychological, social, cultural and spiritual dimensions.[329] A majority eighty-three percent of interviewees asserted that in all the classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia, members are taught that Jesus Christ can be personally encountered as the Saviour and Lord of a sincerely repentant person, resulting in the regeneration and a transformed life. More than half of the interviewees claimed that the themes within the classical Pentecostal Churches' preaching and hermeneutic revolve mainly around the necessity of salvation or of a born-again experience and having a personal relationship with Jesus Christ. This teaching includes the converse that sinful behaviour can cause a person to suffer in the present world as well as the world to come. Furthermore, interviewees affirmed that for Zambian classical Pentecostals, all of life is animated by their experience of commitment wholly to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. This theology resonates with Bloesch's description of 'true Christianity' as "entailing total surrender and commitment to Jesus Christ as well as constant fidelity to him throughout one's life. It signifies both taking up the cross in the decision of faith and bearing the cross in a life of obedience to Christ."[330]

According to interviewees, classical Pentecostals believe and teach that conversion consists of a hearing of the good news of Jesus Christ, a response of faith, and a definitive encounter with God. Reed writes that "classical Pentecostals always place the death of Jesus and his resurrection at the heart of their soteriological witness. A dominant metaphor used by classical Pentecostals for conversion experience is predictably based on Jesus' conversation

[329] See H. S. Bae, "Full Gospel Theology as a Distinctive for Korean Pentecostal Theological Practice," *Spirit and Church*, vol. 2, no. 2 (November 2000): 169-181.
[330] Donald G. Bloesch, *The Crisis of Piety: Essays Towards a Theology of the Christian Life* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 82-83.

with Nicodemus (Jn. 3:2-21).[331] Ninety-five percent of interviewees revealed that for Zambian classical Pentecostals, the 'new birth' experience represents the regeneration of the individual through the personal, conscious appropriation and response to the clear proclamation that in Jesus Christ there is forgiveness of sin. While the notion of the new birth may have been adopted from Evangelicals, however, as Studebaker writes, "for classical Pentecostals, this marks the beginning of the soteriological direction of Pentecostal theology, a stepping forward into salvation by the Spirit as the entrance to the Full Gospel."[332] Thus, sixty-eight percent of interviewees asserted that the Zambian classical Pentecostals interpret the new birth as participation in the promise of the universal outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38-39).

Ninety-five percent of interviewees believed that in all Zambian Classical Pentecostal churches, salvation is linked to discipleship. Discipleship for Classical Pentecostals involves developing a mature, personal relationship with a personal God,[333] or simply the process through which individual Christians grow in their personal relationship with God and become committed to congregational life of the local church.[334] The same percentage of interviewees claimed that classical Pentecostal churches have always maintained a robust perspective on both salvation and discipleship. For classical Pentecostals, the sole means of salvation is a life-transforming experience wrought by the Holy Spirit through faith in Jesus Christ. Interviewees asserted that such an understanding of salvation involves the transformation of human beings into the image of Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit and

[331]Hollis Gause, *Living in the Spirit: The Way of Salvation* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1980), 15-24.
[332] See Steven Studebaker, "Pentecostal Soteriology and Pneumatology," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, vo. 11, no. 2 (2003): 248-270.
[333] See Peterson, Five Smooth Stones, 157.
[334] See Gareth W. D. Stewart, *Word and Power: Is the Theology of John Wimber Compatible with Presbyterian Theology and Practice?* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1997), 138.

transformation by God. The Full Gospel oriented towards change is preached, involving turning to Jesus Christ in repentance and faith, transformation in the way of thinking and acting through the enabling power of the Holy Spirit, and positive commitment to a new set of relationships, lifestyle, set of values and worldview. In this way, classical Pentecostals have always strived to expound and clarify with precision the Full Gospel of Jesus Christ (Matt. 28:20a). Eighty-nine percent of interviewees stated that Classical Pentecostalism has consistently taught that salvation must affect the total person: spirit, soul and body (1 Thes. 5:22; 3 Jn. 2). Although tripartite anthropology arguably existed at least notionally within Classical Pentecostalism in there being a body, separate soul and the Holy Spirit,[335] this was not a distinctive of early or Classical Pentecostalism that required any doctrinal attention. Bosworth for one mentioned "the entire range of our complex being: body, soul and spirit," which he attributed to the Apostle Paul.[336]

However, Csordas understood that the body, mind and spirit distinction began to emerge through charismatic Catholics.[337] He also admitted that in terms of physical healing, charismatic Catholics were "relatively more influenced by Oral Roberts and Kathryn Khulman."[338] The Oral Roberts Univerity triangular logo still contains spirit-mind-body, albeit somewhat different from Robert's earlier refrain "mind, body and soul" in his *If You Need Healing*.[339] Thus, even for Roberts as Baptist and one time Pentecostal Holiness Church

[335] For discussion see Pamela E. Klassen, *Spirits of Protestantism: Medicine, Healing, and Liberal Christianity* (California: University of California, 2011), 43. Reference made to Oxford Movement understanding and Pauline body, soul and Holy Spirit, the latter interacting with the human spirit (Rom. 8:16).
[336] Fred F. Bosworth, *Christ the Healer* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2000 [1924]), 164.
[337] The body, mind and spirit emphasis dated at the emergence of charistmatic Catholicism in 1967. Thomas J. Csordas, *Body, Meaning, Healing* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 13-14, and Thomas J. Csordas, *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 25-40.
[338] Csordas, *The Sacred Self, 40.*
[339] Repeated four times in differing orders. Oral Roberts, *If You Need Healing, Do These Things* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 1950), 15-32.

pastor turned early spokesman of Neo-Pentecostal prosperity teaching, the specific format of body, mind and spirit was a later development. Interviewees are correct in one sense, because tripartite anthropology is not necessarily incompatible with Classical Pentecostalism, but its format and emphasis for healing is more of a Neo-Pentecostal distinctive. The sense in which Zambian Classical Pentecostals use the tripartite anthropology of spirit, mind and body is in the dimension of salvation, involving with reference to 'spirit' the forgiveness of sins and sanctification, while the 'body' aspect deals with physical health, whereas the 'soul' dimension involves the well-being of the mind, will and emotion of an individual. Therefore, for Zambian classical Pentecostals, if one receives salvation and experiences the new birth in Jesus Christ (Jn. 3:3-6) this is expected to bring about a total turn around in their situation and circumstances.

Fifty-Seven percent of interviewees revealed that classical Pentecostal preachers proclaim salvation by grace that includes the discipleship message. It is not surprising to note that discipleship is the still the key theme in nearly all the Zambian classical Pentecostal churches. Interviewees claimed that in nearly all the classical Pentecostal churches, new converts are transitioned from the glorious initial moment of conversion to a consistent life of discipleship and kingdom building. For classical Pentecostal believers, being a disciple of Jesus Christ involves a total commitment to him and a submission to his Lordship as a whole, in every area of life. Hence, emphasis is placed on the importance of a radical conversion, a transformative experience in which a person gives his or her life to Jesus Christ and becomes born-again. Interviewees suggested that for classical Pentecostals, becoming born-again is more than a change in beliefs or doctrines, it is above all about a change in lifestyle, a break with the immediate past of one's life and sinful attitudes. Therefore, classical Pentecostals define a 'truly' born again believer as one who believes the Gospel and confesses Jesus

Christ as his or her saviour and Lord (Rom. 1:16; 10:9-10). Interviewees claimed that classical Pentecostals teach that born-again believers are supposed to become disciples who should do good works because of their salvation, and that discipleship has a cost, and the cost must be counted (Lk. 14:25-33). Discipleship for classical Pentecostals is a life-long process of following Jesus and learning from him (Matt. 4:18-22; 11:29; 28:19 and Jn 8:31). It is about the believer loving God and Jesus (Matt. 10:37). As Bonhoeffer notes, "it is this living relationship with Jesus Christ which is the essence of discipleship; identifying Jesus not as an abstract truth but as a living reality."[340]

6.3.3. Sanctification and Holiness

For classical Pentecostals, holiness is the heart of the doctrine of salvation.[341] Brereton writes that "entering holiness or being sanctified meant letting God take over one's life, in all its dimensions."[342] The word 'holy' simply means to be set apart for God. Hence, 'holiness' for Zambian classical Pentecostals is two-fold; it is positional and practical. As Grenz notes, "positionally, the believer is eternally set apart in Christ (1 Cor. 1:12, 30) and in a practical sense, though the believer is to 'put on Christ' daily, he or she is to 'die to self' and grow in God's grace and knowledge."[343] As expected, that every interviewee claimed that holiness and sanctification have been the strongest theologies of classical Pentecostals. It is common to hear classical Pentecostals stress the ongoing process of sanctification with a goal of Christian perfection. This interviewee claim is in line with Koduah's assertion that "in itemising what is classical Pentecostal distinctive, their emphasis on holiness (Heb. 12:14) is

[340] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (London: SCM, 1959), 17.
[341] See Dale M. Coulter, *Holiness: The Beauty of Perfection* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway, 2004), 65-92.
[342] Virginia L. Brereton, *From Sin to Salvation: Stories of Women's Conversions, from 1800 to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 1991, 61, 65.
[343] Grenz has captured the essence of Pentecostalism as "'convertive' piety or 'conversion' piety." See Stanley J. Grenz, *Renewing the Centre* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 46-47.

one of their main and strong points."[344] Phiri writes that "classical Zambian Pentecostal Christians think of themselves in terms of being dead to sin and alive to God, united with Christ Jesus their Lord and Saviour."[345] Ninety-four percent interviewees stated that the classical Pentecostal notion of sanctification is closely intertwined with an emphasis on the original experience of conversion and deliverance. It also refers to an immediate or repeated sense of release from sin, addiction, sickness, demonic possession and other oppressive experiences. Sixty-eight percent of interviewees claimed that for Zambian classical Pentecostals, to be sanctified is simply God's act of purification and cleansing from sin which involves, not only an intellectual, moral and physical conversion, but also a distancing of oneself from the world and its pollutants.

Unsurprisingly then, classical Pentecostals have always advocated an active stance towards separation from cultural ills, including, alcohol, tobacco, mixed-bathing and many other socially accepted leisure activities. More than half of interviewees stated that going beyond personal pietism, sanctification is considered by classical Pentecostals as purifying and consecrating by being relational and participatory. The theological starting point for this type of Pentecostal social vision of sanctification can be traced back to the emphasis that sanctification originated with the work of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 15:16; 1 Cor. 6:11; 2 Thes. 2:13 and1 Pet. 1:2). Furthermore, ninety-five percent of interviewees revealed that as a motif of the Full Gospel, sanctification for classical Pentecostals has remained as a theological distinct moment on the way of salvation. Every interviewee stated that Zambian classical Pentecostals view holiness as an entire sanctification whereby God removes the sinful nature which originated with the fall of Adam, through a second work of grace distinct from

[344] Alfred Koduah, *Christianity in Ghana Today* (Accra: Advocate Publishing Limited, 2004), 24.
[345] Phiri, *African Spirituality*, 58.

conversion. Therefore, it is not surprising that the classical Pentecostal holiness reading of the Bible emphasises the need for sanctification following conversion and identifies this second work of grace with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. As Dieter observes:

> The rituals among Pentecostal holiness groups emphasise both the need for sanctification after conversion and the possibility of entire sanctification of the believer in this life. Both convictions grew out of experience that conversion often does not mark an eradication of the life of sin (in contrast to expectations), but that such life is indeed possible if the believer embraces a crisis with a search for entire sanctification.[346]

It is necessary to point out here that sanctification identifies both the call of God and the desire of the believer for holiness (1 Pet. 1:15-16). Considering the promise of salvation, sanctification becomes a mandate to cleanse oneself from sin and seek perfection (2 Cor. 7:1). As Hollis explains, "hamartiology and eschatology are significant markers of the Pentecostal framework for understanding holiness, which is not a consequence but a requirement of salvation (Heb. 12:14). Although sanctification is the divine act in a personal and experiential manner."[347]

Castelo explains that:

> The experience and appropriation of the Full Gospel by the believer is expressed among classical Pentecostals in a holistic, embodied participation of the entire person turning from sin to God. It is a coming to God and leaving behind the old ways of living and returning to God and beginning of a new life. Those who practice sanctification seek to participate actively in the divine presence. Even though the human activity implies waiting, travelling, prostrating and submitting oneself to the holiness of God in the expectation that God would impart this holiness through the Holy Spirit to the life of the believer.[348]

[346] See Melvin E. Dieter, "The Wesleyan Perspective," in *Five Views on Sanctification*, ed. Stanley Gundry (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987), 11-46.
[347] Gause, *Living in the Spirit,* 41.
[348] See Daniel Castelo, "Tarrying on the Lord: Affections, Virtues and Theological Ethics in Pentecostal Perspective," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2004): 35-82.

It follows that classical Pentecostals expect that this impartation of holiness can be discerned by outward manifestations and signs of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Ninety-three percent of interviewees revealed that classical Pentecostal believe and teach that at salvation a person is indwelt by the Holy Spirit and from salvation, God begins a sanctifying work in saved men and women and writes his own law in their hearts. Thus, if saved individuals keeps turning to things that the bible has commanded to flee from, then they will continuously invite misery into their lives. The converse holds, where classical Pentecostals also believe that spiritual healing happens alongside sanctification. In this view, increasing personal holiness improves the ability to disallow past trauma to rule over behaviour. Furthermore, every interviewee revealed that in the classical Pentecostal Churches, members are taught that it is through the union with Jesus Christ that one can attain holiness and sanctification. This interviewee claim is corroborated as within classical Pentecostalism by Ferguson who writes that "union with Christ in Pentecostal spirituality is understood in terms of two main features of sanctification. That is, Jesus Christ as their sanctification or holiness (1 Corinthians 1:30) and through union with Jesus sanctification is accomplished in them. This union with Christ is the purpose and one of the foci of the ministry of the Holy Spirit (cf. Romans 8:15)."[349]

Eighty-six percent of interviewees stated that in Classical Pentecostal Churches members are taught that a regenerated believer is obligated to reveal a distinctively Christian life-style based on discipleship of Jesus Christ. This Zambian classical Pentecostalim pietistic ethos as claimed by the interviewees is in keeping with historical Christian trends:

> Globally, Pietism stressed personal religious experience, especially repentance (the experience of one's own unworthiness before God and of one's own need for God's

[349] Sinclair B. Ferguson, "The Reformed View," in Christian Spirituality: Five Views of Sanctification, ed. Donald L. Alexander (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988): 47-93.

> grace) and sanctification (the experience of personal growth in holiness, involving progress towards complete or perfect fulfilment of God's intention).[350]

All interviewees claimed that because of the strong pursuit of holiness and sanctification, many prohibitions are taught in almost all the Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. This attitude demonstrates the demonization of the past, quite common in Classical Pentecostal Churches commencing from when new members become born-again. A clean break with old relationships, habits, fashion and music is sought, where these are considered at variance with new life in Christ. This interviewee claim is echoed by Maldnerová who writes that:

> In Zambian classical Pentecostal churches, stress was put on the rejection of both modernity and medico-religious 'traditions' whereby women were not allowed to perm their hair and wear make ups or wear modern clothes (trousers for women). Other rules included prohibitions to eat blood, drink beer, smoke cigarettes and to go to cinema or disco houses. Those who violated these rules were accused of being backsliders.[351]

It should be noted that certain aspects of classical Pentecostal teaching on holiness and sanctification, correspond closely with more recent medical and societal emphases on detoxification and dehabitualisation from harmful substances such as drugs, alchohol and tobacco, with the view of keeping one body clean or pure. Instone-Brewer explains the broader Pentecostal basis applicable to Zambian practice:

> The general Pentecostal-Charismatic understanding of holiness and sanctification is based on two Biblical principles. The first principle is that anything that is harmful to a person or anything that 'masters' one and changes that person's behaviour becomes his or her master. The second principle is that if one damages the body that Jesus Christ has brought as a temple (1 Corinthians 6:12-20 and 1 Peter 2:5), that person commits both theft and sacrilege.[352]

[350] Ted Campbell, *Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 71.
[351] Mildnerová, "African Independent Churches in Zambia (Lusaka)," 1-18.
[352] See David Instone-Brewer, "Teetotalism: A Historic Hangover," *Christianity* (February 2016): 68-69.

Furthermore, every interviewee claimed that to date, Zambian classical Pentecostals remain focussed on holy Christian living. It is therefore necessary to state here that in most cases, separation is the connecting thread which runs through all classical Pentecostals' view on holiness and sanctification (Romans 7). Contemporary Zambian classical Pentecostals are still teaching that once a person is 'born-again' that person needs to demonstrate this genuine transformation through personal holiness. This is akin to how Devenish urges that "conversion is more than an individual's act of conviction and commitment. Rather, it is a movement of that individual into the life of the local church, demonstrating personal holiness."[353]

In addition to transformation affecting the ethics of individuals, eighty-nine percent of interviewees stated that in classical Pentecostal churches, members are taught that personal integrity and holiness are integral in promoting fairer communities. This observation finds echoes in Doran who writes that:

> In terms of the scale of values, this resents a movement in the healing vector. From the gift of God's grace, to renewed religious values and personal integrity. Through such renewed persons, generating revitalisation in cultural values. Thereby, promoting the integral dialectic of community at the social level of the church.[354]

Despite the wider community impact through personal ethical transformation, as Phiri observes, "for Zambian classical Pentecostals, sanctification is definitive as a basis and motivation for holy living."[355] In summary, classical Pentecostals in Zambia reflect the holiness movement emphases of sanctification and holiness with the aim of ethical perfectionism, which is emphasised with a view of helping

[353] See David Devenish, *What on Earth is the Church For? A Blueprint for the Future for the Church Based Mission and Social Involvement* (Milton Keynes: Authentic Media, 2005), 38.
[354] See Robert M. Doran, *Theology and Dialectics of History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 95.
[355] Phiri, *African Spirituality*, 59.

their members resemble Jesus Christ in deeper ways also transforming their communties.

6.3.4. Divine Healing

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees asserted that since divine healing is so central to Zambian classical Pentecostal doctrinal beliefs, space is provided in every church service for healing. The emphasis on divine healing is an outwardly visible aspect in all Zambian classical Pentecostal churches was also affirmed by all interviewees. Reflective of the biblical portrayal of Jesus, the notion that Jesus is still the healer in the church today is a cornerstone belief of classical Pentecostalism. Thus, as would be expected, all interviewees affirmed that divine healing is one of the major distinctives in the Zambian classical Pentecostal ethos. Warrington states that "classical Pentecostals believe in the possibility of divine healing as a legitimate expression of the ministry of the contemporary Church, entrusted to it by Jesus Christ and mediated through the power of the Holy Spirit."[356] Petts suggest that Christians "need not" be sick, defining the Pentecostal doctrine of divine healing as atonement provisioned:

> The view that Christians may claim healing from sicknesses claiming Jesus Christ has already carried the sicknesses from them just as he carried their sin and that through this doctrine, Pentecostals believe that they do not need to be sick because Christ has already carried away [sicknesses] for them substitutionally. Once this is understood, faith will appropriate the healing which has already been accomplished at Calvary.[357]

[356] Keith Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology: A Theology of Encounter* (London: T and T Clark, 2008), 265.
[357] Petts examines the doctrine of divine healing as provided for in the atonement by looking at theological and literary origins, developments and modifications of this doctrine, especially in the context of classical Pentecostals. See David Petts, "Healing and Atonement" (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 1993), 1-2.

Classical Pentecostals have always[358] emphasised divine healing as a major component of the salvation purchased by Jesus' death.[359] Wright, Linford and Taylor extend healing to the outworking of the Gospel:

> Support for the doctrine of divine healing can be found in both the Old and New Testament texts. They are reinforced by occurrences of healing throughout its history and that the Good News of the Gospel is not just for the salvation of the soul but also for the liberation of the whole person.[360]

Tee also claimed that "there is a sacred connection between the atoning work of Christ on the cross and divine healing."[361] The word 'atonement' encompasses the entire redemptive work of Jesus Christ, which is the main pivot of the NT and at the heart of the Christian faith (Heb. 9:11-28).[362] An understanding of the atonement that is common among classical Pentecostals is the principle of divine exchange.[363] This theory identifies and exalts the cross of Christ as the one and only basis for accessing all the provisions of the salvation of humanity. All one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that Zambian classical Pentecostals believe that the

[358] In discussing the early Pentecostal doctrinal debate between "Wesleyan Pentecostal and Reformed Pentecostal/Finished Work streams" of 1906-1923, Robinson states that "both sides concurred on the same basic lineaments of the healing doctrine—the centrality of the atonement, the place of faith and a wariness of medical intervention. The differences lie in the details of their understandings of these strands." James Robinson, *Divine Healing: The Years of Expansion, 1906-1930: Theological Variation in the Transatlantic World* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2011), see subtitle 'The Alexander Thesis'

[359] Yount notes that Simpson, who held the view of healing as part of God's atoning of Christians, was "the second most influencial leader in the divine healing movement", and "would be considered its main spokesman." Michael G. Yount, *A. B. Simpson: His Message and Impact on the Third Great Awakening* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2016), 96, and Albert B. Simpson, *Gospel of Healing* (New York: Christian Alliance Pubication Company, 1915).

[360] G. Wright, *Our Quest for Healing* (Cheltenham: Grenehurst, 1981), 49-51; A. Linford, *Pentecostal Pictures* (London: Peniel Press, 1976), 121-129 and Malcolm Taylor, "A Historical Perspective on the Doctrine of Divine Healing," *EPTA Bulletin*, vol. 14 (1995): 6-12.

[361] He also argues this view in stating, "It may be argued that Jesus had not yet died when he healed these people and that therefore Isaiah 53:5 [in Matt. 8:16-17] does not refer to Christ's atonement, but many Old Testament saints entered into the benefits of Christ's atonement and escaped the horrors of hell before Christ went to Calvary." Alexander B. Tee, "The Doctrine of Healing," in *Pentecostal Doctrine,* ed. Percy S. Brewser (Cheltenham: Grenhurst Press, 1976), 200-201.

[362] It is pertinent to note that the concept of the atonement predates the New Testament. Its typology can be identified in the OT as early as the covering of the nakedness of Adam and Eve by God with animal skin (Genesis 3:21) following the 'Fall.' The main element of atonement in the Old Testament are found in the Levitical sacrificial system (Leviticus 16). The NT signifies that the atonement in the OT was imperfect and so awaited the complete atonement to be institutionalised by Jesus Christ in the New Testament (Hebrews 9-10).

[363] See William P. Atkinson, *The 'Spiritual Death' of Jesus: A Pentecostal Investigation* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 14-35.

death of Jesus is final, complete and perfect. Thus, not lacking in any dimension, nor requiring any additions by anyone at any time to enjoy the full dividends of the cross. For classical Pentecostals, the atonement of Christ procured divine healing and deliverance for all humanity. Nevertheless, classical Pentecostals teach that the exercise of faith in Jesus through prayer is still needed to enjoy the benefits of the Cross.[364] Eighty-seven percent of interviewees stated that when Zambian classical Pentecostals speak of divine healing, two different dynamics are present, because those who minister to the sick will participate, but also the sick need to seek healing themselves from God. All interviewees claimed that the classical Pentecostal belief in divine healing and the atonement is clearly demonstrated in Zambia when those who are sick are encouraged to throw away all forms of medicine so that they can act in faith and rely completely on Jesus the Healer alone for their healing.

Every interviewee asserted that Zambian classical Pentecostals get their support for divine healing from the Bible. Mittelstadt writes that "as with other elements of the Full Gospel, the biblical texts of Luke-Acts form a particular, though not exclusive, backdrop for shaping classical Pentecostal healing practices."[365] Interviewees further stated that divine healing is seen by classical Pentecostals as an extension of the biblical narratives of salvation, sanctification and baptism in the Holy Spirit. Likewise, Thomas explains that "healing practices translate this narrative into the present with often unprecedented interpretation and new forms of application. A motif of primary importance for Pentecostal practices of healing

[364] In reference to the book Bosworth, *Christ the Healer*, a bibliographical essay from the American Theological Library Association stated that Bosworth's defence of "the position: faith is always rewarded by healing… influenced thousands of Pentecostals for years", see David W. Faupel, *The American Pentecostal Movement: A Biographical Essay* (Wilmore: B.L. Fisher Library, Asbury Theological Seminary [First Fruits Press], 1972), accessed October 9, 2018. Available at: https://www.place.asburyseminary.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1004&context=firstfruitspapers

[365] Martin W. Mittelstadt, *Reading Luke-Acts in the Pentecostal Tradition* (Cleveland, TN: CPT Press, 2010), 98-103.

is the vocalisation of faith (Acts 3:1-4:22)."[366] The apostle Peter emphasises that 'Jesus Christ heals you' and the need to act on it (Acts 9:34) in faith, with typically a connected verbalised exhortation, such as, 'Get up!' or 'Rise up!' (Acts 9:34, 40). Zambian classical Pentecostal practice frequently utilises this authoritative command, 'Get up!' as a verbal expression of faith. Knight explains that "faith is understood as a virtue available to the Christian community, rather than a special gift to the individual. Thus, requiring an environment of love in which healing may take place."[367] Ninety-five percent of interviewees revealed that some Zambian classical Pentecostals do not see any strict relationship of cause and effect between faith and healing. Rather, they see faith in healing as the same as faith that leads to salvation. While eighty-three percent of interviewees claimed that the theological divisions over the role of faith in healing are primarily a result of overtly individualistic interpretations of divine healing that neglect the role of relationships with God and others in the community of faith. Eight-nine percent of interviewees suggested that classical Pentecostal healing practice is usually the first place where faith begins to be exercised, because such practice requires the active participation of the believer in the pursuit of divine healing.

Poloma writes that "the verbalisation of faith is the most immediate ritual expression of this participation, at the most basic level understood as a vocalisation of prayer."[368] Every interviewee reported that regular prayer for the sick, suffering or dying is a standard practice among all classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia. Praying for the sick ranges from briefer

[366] Among the central healing narratives of Acts, the healing of the crippled beggar reported immediately following the day of Pentecost sets the initial pattern for Pentecostal practices. See John Christopher Thomas, *The Devil, Disease and Deliverance: Origins of Illness in New Testament Thought, Journal of Pentecostal Theology,* Supplement 13 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998): 310-319.
[367] Henry H. Knight III, "God's Faithfulness and God's Freedom: A Comparison of Contemporary Theologies of Healing," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, vol. 2 (1993): 65-89.
[368] See Margaret M. Poloma, "Pentecostal Prayer within the Assemblies of God: An Empirical Study," *PNEUMA,* vol. 31, no. 1 (2009): 47-65.

practices such as uttering commands, simple prayers of faith, speaking in tongues, sharing testimonies and making vocal intercession, to more extensive practices, such as, prolonged tarrying and fasting with prayer until healing is manifested. In Zambian classical Pentecostalism, the invocation of healing 'in the name of Jesus Christ' in commonly held as an effective healing phrase across the movement.[369] Warrington writes that the "invocation of healing in Jesus' name indicates a belief in the abiding presence of Christ and the continuing and consistent availability of his healing power."[370] Lang clarifies that "the verbalisation of this belief is not necessarily seen as producing immediate results. Instead, a longer process can involve the verbalisation of faith in repeated testimonies and prayers."[371]

Ninety percent of interviewees revealed that Zambian classical Pentecostals use the narratives in Acts 9:12-18; 20:7-10 to support the practice of laying on of hands when praying for the sick. Nevertheless, the significance attached to this practice as a means healing have led classical Pentecostals to extend its realm of influence, supported by the reading of other biblical texts, such as Mark 16:18. This text is widely understood as a mandate of those baptised in the Holy Spirit to 'lay their hands on the sick' and 'the sick will recover.' Every interviewee stated that classical Pentecostals usually conduct this practice at church and homes of the sick where elders of the church come together to pray (James 5:14) and where believers pray for one another (5:16). Ninety-seven percent of interviewees claimed that the experience of healing, both in its giving and receiving, is directly identified with the transfer of divine power through the laying on of hands. This interviewees claim can be connected to

[369] Keith Warrington, "The Path to Wholeness: Beliefs and Practices Relating to Healing in Pentecostalism," *Evangel*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2003): 45-49.
[370] See Keith Warrington, "Acts and the Healing Narratives: Why?" *J PT*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2006): 189-217.
[371] See Eva Jansen and Claudia Lang, "Transforming the Self and Healing the Body Through the Use of Testimonies in a Divine Retreat Center, Kerala," *JRH*, vol. 51, no. 2 (2012): 542-551.

the book of James which emphasises the 'prayer of faith' (Jas. 5:15) which penetrates the entire classical Pentecostal healing ritual. Alexander observes that "at the same time, the touch is itself anticipated as the 'remedy' where the Spirit of God engages the body of believers (individually and corporately) in the redemption and cleansing from sin and disease."[372] Every interviewee asserted that the centrality of James 5:14-16 has in many ways focused classical Pentecostals on the use of anointing with oil when conducting healing, where in response to James' question, "Is anyone among you sick?" the congregation are instructed to participate in the practice "anoint[ing] them with oil in the name of the Lord" (5:14). Interviewees revealed that typically, classical Pentecostals apply the anointing oil not only on the forehead or hands and feet, but also directly on the place of pain and illness. Cartledge warns that "the anointing oil should be applied gently with one or more fingers, never forceful or wasteful, an expression of God's love and healing presence as well as of the Christian love for others."[373]

The application of anointing oil is seen as a gentle but penetrating exhibition of power and demonstration of the Spirit's anointing available to all Christians.[374] The certainly that atonement allowing healing for all has already been mentioned as giving confidence to throw away medication. In addition, ninety-seven percent of interviewees asserted that classical Pentecostals usually ask people to throw away medicine before being prayed for. The classical Pentecostal healers' intention for doing this is to shift people's reliance away from

[372] See Kimberly Ervin Alexander, "'How Wide Thy Healing Streams Are Spread,': Constructing a Wesleyan Pentecostal Model for Healing for the Twenty-First Century," *Asbury Theological Journal*, vol. 59, no. 1|2 (2004): 63-76.
[373] See Mark J. Cartledge, "Pentecostal Healing as an Expression of Godly Love: An Empirical Study," *Mental Health, Religion and Culture*, vol. 16, no. 5 (2013) 501-562.
[374] Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), 353-362.

medicine and traditional healers (the *ngangas*). This interviewee assertion is in line with Judd's observation that:

> When Pentecostal healers ask sick people to throw away medicine before being prayed for is an attempt to shift people's reliance, trust and faith on medicine to the Saviour as the 'Real Healer' of their souls and bodies.[375]

However, every interviewee acknowledged that the issue of divine healing excluding the use of medicine is still one of the contentious tenets of the Zambian classical Pentecostalism. It is appropriate however, for Zambian classical Pentecostals to recognise that divine healings will occur irrespective of whether the sick use medicine or not, because divine healing is a sovereign act of the Holy Spirit. Every interviewee stated that Zambian classical Pentecostals always give a few reasons why divine healing does not take place. Some of the reasons they give include unbelief, disobedience, the harbouring of unforgiveness, bitterness, unconfessed sin, a lack of knowledge and a lack of discernment. However, this raises questions about unhealthy blame placed on church members, which will be considered further in section 6.4.4.

6.3.5. Eschatology and Evangelism

The proverbial content of a personal testimony amoung classical Pentecostal, of being saved, sanctified, filled with the Holy Spirit, healed and delivered, typically ends with an exclamation of becoming part of the church and on the way to heaven.[376] Every interviewee asserted that in nearly all classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia, the anticipation of Jesus'

[375] Carrie F. Judd, *The Prayer of Faith* (Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1880), 37.
[376] Steven J. Land, Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, Supplement, 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 80-81.

imminent second return expresses itself in the classical dispensational eschatology. Sheppard explains that:

> Classical dispensational eschatology is strictly speaking a philosophy of history and a hermeneutical system, which helps Pentecostals to identify themselves as an apocalyptic product heralding the last revival before the return of Jesus Christ. This influence on Pentecostal theology is largely responsible for the lack of focus on developing a long-term ecclesiological model of Pentecostalism and an accompanying sustained social ethic beyond the notion of a temporary apocalyptic movement of the last days. Classical dispensational eschatology allows Pentecostals to situate their experiences theologically in the context of pre-millennial expectations, which identify Pentecostalism as an apocalyptic revival movement rather than a restoration of the church.[377]

Interestingly, every interviewee claimed that the Zambian classical Pentecostals' strong belief in the classical dispensational eschatology has led to an emphasis on, and a deep sense of urgency in evangelism and mission as key to facilitating the second coming Jesus Christ (Matt. 24:14) and the rapture of the Church (1 Thes. 4:13-16). Evangelism is perceived as a process more than it is an event and is concerned with discipling people, that is, forming members into authentic disciples of Jesus Christ. The goal toward which evangelism moves, is the realisation of God's reign in human life.

As would therefore be expected, the supreme goal and key doctrinal belief of Classical Pentecostal Churches to which the Zambian churches subscribe remains evangelism, because this activity seeks to fulfil the eschatological call to bring people into the visible community of believers. Stransky defines evangelism as,

> that dimension and activity of the church's mission which seeks to offer every person, everywhere, a valid opportunity to be directly challenged by the gospel of explicit faith in Jesus Christ, with a view to embracing him as Saviour, becoming a

[377] See Gerald T. Sheppard, "Pentecostalism and the Hermeneutic of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship," *PNEUMA*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1984): 5-34.

> living member of his community and being enlisted in his service of reconciliation, peace and justice on earth.[378]

Interviewees revealed that the main message of the Classical Pentecostal Churches is the necessity to be born-again, based on the discourse between Jesus Christ and Nicodemus (Jn. 3:1-5) and Paul's statement on the 'new creation' (2 Cor. 5:17). This message is still preached with a sense of urgency informed by strong classical dispensational eschatology. All one hundred interviewees affirmed that in all the classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia, people are taught that Jesus Christ is coming again to judge the world and the church and to apocalyptically renew creation. This assertion by the respondents is in line with Wacker who writes that "since its early beginnings, global Pentecostalism has been and remains at its core pre-millennial and out of this pre-millennial belief system came with it a very strong missiological and evangelistic initiative."[379] Land likewise defines classical Pentecostal spirituality as "apocalyptic, corporate, missional and essentially effective."[380] Interviewees unanimously stated, that the reason for the continued growth of Zambian Classical Pentecostal Churches is the agency and evangelistic inspiration of ordinary church members. Interviewees stressed that since the 1950s, the eschatological expectation by Zambian classical Pentecostal Christian have been very high. This expectation finds parallels in Faupel's description of the importance of eschatological expectation for emerging Pentecostalism:

> The contribution made by the development of a Pentecostal ethos is shown by the names adopted for itself by the movement in its earliest forms. These include Full Gospel which brought with it the notions of justification, sanctification, divine healing, Second Coming and Spirit-baptism, Latter Rain which was accompanied by the framework of historical understanding by which Pentecostals understand their

[378] Cf. Thomas F. Stransky, "Evangelization, Missions, and Social Action: A Roman Catholic Perspective," *Review and Expositor,* Vol. 78, No. 2 (Spring 1982): 343-350.
[379] See, Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), 179.
[380] Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality,* 23, 31.

> place in the world, a renewal of God's salvation history with humanity at the end of times.[381]

All interviewees stated that since the 1950s, the Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia have always been driven by a fervent eschatological expectation of the closely immanent kingdom of God, suggesting strong links to the foundational eschatological emphasis of classical Pentecostalism. This has affected the way classical Pentecostals have engaged in the socio-political sphere of the nation. Suico observes about the far east that:

> Due to emphasis on the Second-Coming of Christ by the classical Pentecostal churches globally, many Pentecostal Christians were indifferent to the issues of structural relationships with their societies, because they basically espoused an 'otherworldly' eschatology. This type of eschatology included the pessimistic view of history which views the transformation of society and of social structures into a just environment as futile.[382]

This likewise holds true in the Zambian context, where in relation to the classical dispensational eschatological elements of the Full Gospel, the association of Jesus' second coming with the rapture of believers and the apocalyptic destruction of the whole world, inherently acts to discourage classical Pentecostal Christians from developing concern for the socio-political affairs of the nation. This classical position stands in tension with the development of socio-political awareness of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches. Furthermore, all one hundred and fifteen interviewees claimed that in the since the 1950s, many of the classical Pentecostals in Zambia have, displayed an ethically dualistic worldview that distinguishes between sacred and profane, church and State, a characteristic already attributed the Prophetic and Pentecostal type of Churches. This claim is in sharp contrast to O'Donovan's assertion that "in the African Pentecostal worldview, human existence is seen

[381] David W. Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*, JPTS, 10 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 28-36.
[382] J. R. Suico, "Towards a Movement of Social Transformation in the Philippines," *Journal of Asian Mission*, vol. 14 (January 1999): 14.

as a large mosaic, compromising of many facets. It is a single whole, where all aspects of human life contain concrete religious experiences."[383] Given this eschatology and sacred-profane dualism, it is not surprising that respondents affirmed that the primary mission of Classical Pentecostal Churches since the 1950s has been the salvation of as many as possible and increasing readiness for the rapture. This interviewee affirmation is echoed by Wilson who writes that "the eschatological expectations acted as the motivating factors for evangelistic activities, pre-millennial pessimism was largely to blame for the tendency by the classical Pentecostals to ignore the social responsibilities of the church."[384] In stating that eschatology is 'largely to blame,' Wilson does not necessarily exclude – but may have overlooked – the aspect of ethical dualism as a significant contributor to classical Pentecostalism unwillingness to engage in the social gospel, as likewise Suico.

Every interviewee stated that the biblical narrative of the day of Pentecost seems to serve as the imagery that informs the Zambian classical Pentecostal perspective on dispensational eschatology. Theologically, the notion of the future millennial reign of Jesus Christ occupies little significance in this eschatology, in contrast to the importance placed on the present age, which links the prospect of the eschatological reign with a strong apocalyptic expectancy. In principle, as Ware notes, classical Pentecostal pre-millennial expectations support positions ranging from pessimistic apocalyptic scenarios to a robust optimism and a transformative

[383] Wilbur O'Donovan, *A Biblical Christianity in Modern Africa* (Katunayake, Sri Lanka: Paternoster Press, 2006), 20.
[384] Wilson has claims that "since the end was near, [classical] Pentecostals were indifferent to social change and rejected the reformist methods of the optimistic post-millennialists and have concentrated on 'snatching brands from the fire.' See D. J. Wilson, "Pentecostal Perspectives on Eschatology," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 605.

social ethic.[385] Regardless of where Pentecostal churches are on this continuum, pre-millennialism expresses the central importance of discontinuity in Pentecostal eschatological discourse, by reminding Pentecostals that the kingdom of God is realised only through a decisive inbreaking of God as exemplified by the day of Pentecost.

6.4. THEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES OF THE NEO-PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees understood that doctrinally, the basic tenets of faith of the Neo-Pentecostals Churches in Zambia are similar to those of the classical Pentecostal churches. In fact, as the study has uncovered, many of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia came into existence as splinter groups from the classical Pentecostal churches denominations such as the Assemblies of God Zambia (AOGZ), Church of God (CoG) and the Apostolic Faith Mission Zambia (AFMZ). Most of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia are 'self-propagating' and 'self-generating,' thus they are indigenous churches. To some extent, teaching and written materials from the USA have influenced the liturgical, doctrinal and spiritual growth of the fledging Neo-Pentecostal movement, demonstrating the interaction between local initiatives and global processes in the development and evolution of Zambian Pentecostalism. For instance, the Neo-Pentecostal revival of the 1980s and 1990s attracted the attention of the global Pentecostal family, especially from the United States of America. Many American Pentecostal-Charismatic ministries formed partnerships with the local Neo-Pentecostals pastors such as Dr. Nevers S. Mumba, Dr. Dan Pule and others who were sponsored to study theology abroad and were later appointed as local representatives. In almost all cases, there were co-operative frameworks and ministerial associations through

[385] See Frederick, L. Ware, "On the Compatibility/Incompatibility of Pentecostal Premillennialism with Black Liberation Theology," in *Afro-Pentecostalism: Black Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in History and Culture*, eds. by Amos Yong and Estrelda Y. Alexander (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 191-206.

which evangelistic programmes were conducted, pastors were licensed and ordained, books and other resources such as evangelistic films, tracts, Bibles, audio cassettes and videos were donated and distributed. It is not surprising that Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia has become more American in orientation. Hence, more distincively Neo-Pentecostal theological perspectives tend to be inherited mainly from North America.

6.4.1. Baptism in the Holy Spirit and Tongues

Half of the interviewees acknowledged that the baptism in the Holy Spirit is one of the key theological emphases of all the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches. However, the other half claimed that most Neo-Pentecostals do not widely consider speaking with tongues as the only evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit. The more recent history of the initial evidence debate centres around Dunn, who in avoiding the narrative sections of the New Testament such as Luke-Acts – deeming biblical narrative an unsound basis for doctrine – criticised the Classical Pentecostal doctrine on initial evidence, finding that the Holy Spirit experience for the believer was soteriological and not a subsequent experience at all.[386] Menzies, in his defence against Dunn, used Luke-Acts to demonstrate the validity of the secondary experience and the initial evidence of tongues.[387] Clearly most ordinary Pentecostal-Charismatic church goers, no less those in Zambia, are unaware of the debate or personalities involved, but are experiencing the effects. Dunn sows a seed of doubt on Classical Pentecostal distinctives but should be viewed as more of an internal Reformed reaction to encounters with initial evidence teaching and as a theological undergirding of existing Reformed theology and practices, rather than necessarily the root cause of underlying

[386] James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 90-116.
[387] Robert Menzies, *The Develoment of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*, JSNT Sup, 54 (Sheffied: JSOT Press, 1991), 52-112.

changes in practice to Classical Pentecostals, and Neo-Pentecostals of a Classical background. Significant percentages of denominationally Classical Pentecostals around the globe have moved from secondary experience and glossolalia as initial evidence or the sole initial evidence, but Neo-Pentecostals, arising from other denominational backgrounds, are not tied with any sense of strictness to these Classical distinctives and thus free to express a broader spectrum of evidences. Nevertheless, this broader spectrum approach is in fact found in early Pentecostalism, predating the formulation of Classical Pentecostal distinctives, where William Seymour in Azusa Street took his stance supporting multiple 'internal' evidences displayed in the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22), as well as various 'external' pneumatological signs including tongues, as was published in opposition to Parnham's insistence on the initial evidence of tongues.[388] Whereas Neo-Pentecostal changes in Europe and America may reflect the diversity of churches and believers that have become charismatic, bringing with them a different understanding of soteriology, such as the Reformed churches, the background of Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches is largely Classical Pentecostal, making the departure from initial evidence more striking, and a possible sign of outside teaching influence, an area for further research. Menzies argued that the most significant role in Hebrew Scriptures was the Spirit of prophecy, which continues as the main perspective in Luke-Acts, whether in direct prophetic uttererances or tongues as prophecy (see Acts 2:4, 15-17).[389]

Macchia extends the role of tongues in Luke-Acts to include among other things mission through interlinguist capabilities, serving as an eschatological timetable reminder (2:17).[390] A

[388] For historical discussion see, Cecil Robeck, Jr. "William J. Seymour and 'the Bible Evidence'," in *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism,* ed. Gary B. McGee (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1991), 81.
[389] Robert Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts* (JSNTSup, 54; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 52–112.
[390] Frank D. Macchia, "The Question of Tongues as Initial Evidence: A Review of Initial Evidence, edi. Gary B. McGee," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 2 (1993): 117–127.

number of these roles of glossolalia were mentioned or implicit by all one hundred and fifteen interviewees claim that Zambian Neo-Pentecostals perceive speaking in tongues as pointing to the restoration of a biblical and apostolic life, involving a call to personal holiness and sanctification, the empowerment of the church, the proclamation of the Full Gospel to the world, an endowment for worship and the prophetic confrontation of social, religious, political, economic and cultural injustices for liberation, transformation and renewal. Charette writes that "tongues are seen by Neo-Pentecostals as attributes of empowerment by giving voice to a fuller image of God in the world, a restoration of the divine image through Spirit-empowered sights and sounds."[391]

While Samarin argues that "although tongues may not be 'speech' in a linguistic sense, they are nonetheless a demonstrative cultural speech-act that operates properly only through engagement with the public good."[392] Horton explains that "the public good of speaking in tongues emerges from the divine origin and purpose as God's communication to humanity."[393] More than half of the interviewees asserted that the unifying belief among all divergent Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia is that the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit is subsequent to conversion. Furthermore, eighty-three percent of interviewees claimed that although speaking in other tongues is still practised and emphasised in many Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia, a section of contemporary Neo-Pentecostal pastors and teachers are now teaching that one can experience the baptism in the Holy Spirit without

[391] See Blaine Charette, "Reflective Speech: Glossolalia and the Image of God," *PNEUMA*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2006): 186-201.
[392] See William Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 22-33.
[393] Harold Horton, *What Is the Good of Speaking with Tongues?: An Enthusiastic Vindication of Supernatural Endowment* (London: Assemblies of God Publishers, 1960), 10-11.

speaking in other unknown tongues. This disclosure by interviewees follows trends more keenly realised in the broader Neo-Pentecostal world:

> The term 'charismatic' identified the movement with the diversity of spiritual gifts of 1 Corinthians. Rather than stressing the uniqueness of speaking in other tongues in Acts 2 as the label 'Pentecost' would, most of the early Charismatics (Neo-Pentecostals) spoke in other tongues, but unlike the classical Pentecostals, most of them did not fully accept speaking in other tongues as the necessarily 'initial evidence' of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.[394]

This historical picture where "most of the early Charismatics" did not hold to glossalalia as the initial evidence, is not representative of the still limited contemporary scope of this belief among Zambian Neo-Pentecostals. This most likely reflects the previously noted splintering of many Neo-Pentecostal groups in Zambia out of classical Pentecostal churches thereby retaining their influence and the stronger impact of classical Pentecostalism on other forms of Zambian Pentecostalism in general, in this way minimising doctrinal influence from Neo-Pentecostals from Europe and America, a point of clarification for further studies. The theology of speaking in tongues as initial evidence is supposed to constitute an issue of minor importance among Neo-Pentecostals, as opposed to its vigorous defence among classical Pentecostals. Anderson writes that:

> Neo-Pentecostals are criticised by classical Pentecostals for separating speaking in other tongues from the baptism in the Holy Spirit. For the Neo-Pentecostals, experience and practice are far more important than dogma. Whereas, classical Pentecostals usually define themselves in terms of the doctrine of the 'initial' evidence of speaking in tongues, the Neo-Pentecostals are primarily concerned with the experience of the working of the Holy Spirit and practice of spiritual gifts.[395]

Surprisingly, Zambian Neo-Pentecostals interviewed sound more like Anderson's portrayal of classical Pentecostals, because all one hundred and fifteen interviewees, Neo-Pentecostals included, urged Zambian Neo-Pentecostals not to separate speaking in tongues from the

[394] David K. Benard, *History of Christian Doctrines* (Hazelwood: Word Aflame Press, 2001), 280-287.
[395] Robert M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979), 4.

baptism in the Holy Spirit. There is a perceived need for contemporary Zambian Neo-Pentecostal preachers to put strong emphasis on the necessity of their members to be baptised in the Holy Spirit with 'initial' evidence of speaking in other tongues. Given that Neo-Pentecostal churches in Zambia denying the necessity of glossalalia as the initial evidence are of limited number, it is perhaps not surprising that the Neo-Pentecostals among the sample group were universally and strongly aligned with the classical Pentecostal position on this issue. Future studies would need to actively seek out this segment of Neo-Pentecostal churches or individuals in Zambia to assess their distribution and perspectives. The Spirit and Power quantitative study of 2006 included surveys within Africa, sampling Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa, but Nigeria without enough sample size to cover Neo-Pentecostals.[396] Based on this, Robinson was able to highlight that the experience or witness of divine healing is now greater than the practice of glossolalia for Pentecostal-Charismatics in all countries sampled,[397] which is a potential indicator of diminishing initial evidence including in the African continent.

However, the survey did not focus directly on the theological belief of initial evidence, nor cover a wide enough range of countries, nor their particularities such as in the Zambian context, to be corrective of or fill the gaps in the interviewee survey in this study. Eighty-seven percent of interviewees revealed that Zambian Neo-Pentecostals view the primary purpose of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as charismatic endowment. Menzies observes that "the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit have been identified at times exclusively in

[396] "Spirit and Power – A 10-Country Survey of Pentecostals," Pew Research Centre, last modified October 5, 2006, http://www.pewforum.org/2006/10/05/spirit-and-power/
[397] See James Robinson, *Divine Healing: The Formative Years, 1830-1890 Theological Roots in the Transatlantic World* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011).

terms of prophetic and missiological implications and with no soteriological significance,"[398]

Agreeing on mission impact, Vondey adds other empowerment aspects:

> The baptism in the Holy Spirit perceived in terms of power includes victory over sin, charismatic life and witness to the gospel. In Pentecostal terms, the baptism in Holy Spirit is both an overpowering and empowering experience of the Holy Spirit who breaks through personal, affective, sociocultural, political, and religious dimensions of the Christian life.[399]

Every interviewee asserted that in general, Zambian Neo-Pentecostals contend that baptism in the Holy Spirit is a distinct secondary experience apart from conversion, in line with classical Pentecostalism. All those who are saved receive the Holy Spirit at that point, with the secondary experience available for the full unfolding of Christian life and the mission of the church.[400]

6.4.2. Holiness and Sanctification

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees asserted that Neo-Pentecostals have made radical changes with regards to holiness and sanctification due to their flexibility and adaptability. This has especially affected their attitude towards lifestyle, dance, music and attire. In so doing, the Neo-Pentecostal experience has released members from subservient rigid rules. This is part of a broader trend that as Shaull notes, "has provided believers with an unusual capacity for discerning what is going on in their own lives."[401] Therefore, Neo-Pentecostalism is providing what Gifford calls "a 'new notion of self' which empowers an individual to make personal decisions within the 'small areas they have marked themselves'

[398] Robert P. Menzies, Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* Supplement 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 18-33.
[399] Wolfgang Vondey, *Pentecostalism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 39-47.
[400] See Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology*, 99-100.
[401] See Richard W. ShaullCesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 197.

and can interact with others as equals."[402] Ninety percent of interviewees claimed that the issues of personal holiness and sanctification are taken various seriously by the Zambian Neo-Pentecostals. This is echoed by Mildnerová assertion that:

> Zambian Neo-Pentecostals emphasise the importance of 'charismatic gifts' such as enduring faith, persistent prayers and the observance of strict and religious ethics. Apart from the strict observance of the Ten Commandments, it is strictly forbidden for church members to drink alcohol, take drugs, smoke cigarettes and change sexual partners.[403]

It was not surprising therefore, that more than half of the interviewees asserted that most Neo-Pentecostal pastors have reverted to a Holiness stream of Pentecostalism that emphasises one experience of the Holy Spirit. Hence, members in the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches are taught that Christians' evil appetites can be changed through the power of the Holy Spirit. Interviewees claimed that most Neo-Pentecostals believe that the Holy Spirit inside a believer makes him or her holy. Therefore, members are encouraged to pray daily and to be directed by the Holy Spirit, because doing so will eventually lead to a lifestyle of holiness. This reasoning by Neo-Pentecostal preachers and teachers is echoed by Wimber and Springer who assert that "by living in integrity and applying God's word in everything, Christians can truly live holy lives."[404]

Eighty-one percent of interviewees claimed that most contemporary Zambian Neo-Pentecostal pastors noticeably prefer to build their churches on notions of freedom and liberty. They encourage members to develop a capability of discerning and choosing ethically. More than half of the interviewees asserted, that the underlying philosophy of most Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches is based on the biblical verse, "Where the Spirit of the

[402] Paul Gifford, *The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 5-6.
[403] Mildnerová, "African Pentecostal Churches in Zambia (Lusaka)," 8-25.
[404] John Wimber and Kelvin N. *Springer, Power Healing* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986), 134.

Lord is, there is liberty" (2 Cor. 3:17). Nevertheless, ninety-eight percent of interviewees revealed that holiness and sanctification are considered by the Neo-Pentecostal Churches as an important condition for being connected to God (Heb. 12:14). Moreover, interviewees suggested that the process of sanctification in most Zambian Neo-Pentecostal circles involves an element of surrendering and learning to control personal moral conduct. This ethical emphasis finds parallels within the wider charismatic-Pentecostal movements, as Marshall and Martin observe, "the emphasis by Pentecostals on disciplining the self is a common feature of global Pentecostalism."[405]

6.4.3. Salvation

Horton explains that "salvation is the physical experience, at least in part, of Jesus Christ living in the mortal body of the believer (Galatians 2:20) so that despite human mortality, the life of Jesus is already manifested in the body (2 Corinthians 4:10-11)." [406] Rather than interpreting these and other biblical texts (such as Is. 53:5; 1 Cor. 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:15 and Eph. 3:19; 5:30) in an exclusively spiritual sense, Zambian Neo-Pentecostal soteriology insists that the materiality of salvation is an eschatological reality already realised in the present life. However, as an eschatological realised aspect of salvation, unfulfilled healing manifests the volatile nature of the present world in which the kingdom of God is not yet fully realised. Eighty-six percent of interviewees asserted that the basis for salvation from the perspective of Zambian Neo-Pentecostals is unequivocally the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The soteriological process is described in Cartledge, who writes that "the proclamation of the cross leads to a crisis among the spectators who identify with the process of salvation

[405] Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 131 and David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford, Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 80.
[406] See Stanley M. Horton, *What the Bible Says about the Holy Spirit*, rev. edn. (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2005), 188-190.

presented in the Gospel but cannot bring it to a resolution in their own lives."[407] The Neo-Pentecostal reading of the biblical texts much like the Pietistic tradition, accentuates the initial confrontation with the narrative of salvation resulting in a crisis, where its challenge causes a struggle and confrontation between self and God. Every interviewee claimed that Zambian Neo-Pentecostals consider salvation as being central to the born-again conversion experience. Thus, it is not surprising that nearly all the Neo-Pentecostal churches in Zambia have robustly maintained a perspective on salvation which entails viewing salvation as a composite. Neo-Pentecostals believe that salvation affects the total person, that is spirit, soul and body (1 Thess. 5:22; 3 Jn. 2). According to this belief, the spiritual dimension of salvation involves the forgiveness of sins and sanctification, while the physical dimension deals with bodily health, as well as financial and material prosperity.

Although a significant topic in and of itself, prosperity is more specific to Neo-Pentecostals than the prophetic and classical Pentecostal churches, and for this reason discussion is subsumed under this heading, where soteriology involving repentance and transformation informs on the rationale for the Neo-Pentecostal prosperity emphasis in Zambia. Eighty-one percent reported that Neo-Pentecostals teach that those who have experienced new birth in Christ (Jn. 3:3-6) are expected to demonstrate a total transformation in their life situations and circumstances. More than half of the interviewees asserted that the 'good life' (Deut. 28:1-14), typified by houses, cars, designer clothes, all-round success, children and trouble-free living, is viewed by Neo-Pentecostals as evidence of being in God's will, divine calling, anointing and blessing. This belief is shared by both the traditional worldview in Zambia and internationally respectively. This kind of belief provides support for and confirms the

[407] See Mark J. Cartledge, *Testimony in the Spirit: Rescripting Ordinary Pentecostal Theology* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 55-80.

widespread belief in Zambian and other international Neo-Pentecostal churches that material possessions signify that God is pleased with a person. Every interviewee stated that the lack of such blessings in the life of an individual or a community is often attributed to any or combination of any of the following situations, namely, living in sin, faithlessness, prayerlessness, ignorance of God's Word, and exposure to satanic attacks or curses (Deut. 28:15-60).

Every interviewee reported that one of the features of Zambian Neo-Pentecostals is their emphasis on the importance of a radical conversion – a transformative experience in which a person gives his or her life wholly to Jesus Christ and becomes born again. This finds parallels in how Meyer writing on Ghana asserts that "in Pentecostal discourse, salvation entails that the individual makes a complete break from the past."[408] Manglos on Malawian Pentecostalism explains that:

> It is often suggested that becoming 'born again' or 'being saved' is more than a change in belief and doctrines. But is above all, the change in ones' lifestyle, a break with the immediate past of one's' life and his or her sinful attitudes.[409]

Seventy-seven percent of interviewees stated that a segment of Neo-Pentecostals teach that every sinner remains indebted to the devil by reason of his or her personal sins, until that debt is settled by repenting of sin and acknowledging Jesus Christ as personal Lord and Saviour. Furthermore, interviewees explained that a sinner is still indebted to the devil by the accumulated evil deeds of his or her grandparents which are now qualified to settle by their born-again experience.This understanding is based on generational curse teaching in the US,

[408] Birgit Meyer, "Making a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostal Discourse," *JRA,* vol. 28, no. 3 (1998): 316-349.
[409] Nicolette D. Manglos, "Born Again in Balaka: Pentecostal Verse Catholic Narratives of Religious Transformation in Rural Malawi," *SR,* vol. 71, no. 4 (2010): 409-431.

which was part of the spiritual warfare movement beginning the 1970, based on proof texts (Ex. 20:5-6; 34:6-7; Num. 14:18; and Deut. 5:9-10) emphasising that established Christians identify sinful ancestors in their personal history, and spiritually and verbally severing these ancestral 'ties'.[410] The main difference is that Zambian Neo-Pentecostals are concerned about removal of these curses at salvation. This nuance demonstrates how Zambian Neo-Pentecostals have adapted biblical narratives to negotiate new meanings and interpretations to reflect their current and cultural setting. By so doing, Neo-Pentecostals seek to make their message relevant to the existential needs and aspirations of the people. Such theological and hermeneutical flexibility among other things account for the strong growth and appeal of Pentecostalism in the nation of Zambia.

Every interviewee asserted that Neo-Pentecostals teach that salvation or being 'born again' demands self-knowledge, as well as spiritual empowerment that directly comes from the Spirit of God. Although commenting on the Nigerian situation, Marshall's assertion holds true in the Zambian context when she writes that:

> Born again' conversion demands work of the self which through a variety of techniques... has as its effect a new sort of self-knowledge. The new self-knowledge has its object protection, self-mastery and spiritual empowerment. It is explicitly linked to the creation of a certain type of life. Thus, becoming 'born again' is an event of rupture but being 'born again' is an ongoing existential project not a state acquired once and for all, a process that is never fully achieved and always runs of the risk of being compromised.[411]

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees alleged that Neo-Pentecostals' emphasis on enjoyment, vitality, financial and material security is the result of their theology of salvation.

[410] Derek Prince is seminal on this with many others developing the theme. See Derek Prince, *Blessing or Curse: You Can Choose* (Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen Books, 1990), 15-34.
[411] Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 129-131.

This therefore, represents continuity with the African primal limagination with its strong emphasis on the here and now. Stålsett notes that "for Neo-Pentecostals satisfaction and victory are within reach, here and now. They even go further to claim that faith is expected to give concrete results."[412]

Half the interviewees agreed that in most Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches today it is not uncommon to hear preachers and pastors teach that salvation goes beyond spiritual redemption, to include forgiveness of future sins, spiritual renewal and a renewed relationship with God. Having encompassed redemption from physical powers and structures which includes ill-health and poverty within salvation, such an understanding involves a significant shift from the classical Pentecostal outlook. As previously discussed under the heading 'Divine Healing' (6.3.4), classical Pentecostals have long held the view that the atonement and healing are connected, where Christ's death allows for the provision of healing for all Christians, the one providing the opportunity for the other. Any similarity with Zambian Neo-Pentecostal teaching – to the extent that salvation and healing are linked. The outlook of this particular Neo-Pentecostal segment is that salvation can only be fully meaningful and complete when both spiritual and physical principalities and powers are dealt with. This is a notion of salvation that is similar to what Larbi has referred to in Ghana as "a dual faceted conception of salvation that incorporates 'this-worldliness' and 'other-worldliness.'"[413] As Oyedepo has suggested, "this radicalisation of the theology of salvation renders mostly poverty and sickness as some of the enduring principalities that need to be dealt with."[414] The

[412] Sturla J. Stålsett, *Spirits of Globalisation: The Growth of Pentecostalism and Experiential Spiritualities in a Global Age* (London: SCM Press, 2006), 203.
[413] Emmanuel K. Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity* (Accra: Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies, 2001), 420.
[414] Oyedepo has claimed that "poverty mentality is satanic slavery." See David O. Oyedepo, *Understanding Financial Prosperity* (Lagos: Dominion Publishing House, 2005), 14.

Neo-Pentecostal response to this latter 'principality' of sickness will be considered in the next section on healing and the former 'principality' of poverty in the section 'The Prosperity Gospel' (6.4.8).

6.4.4. Healing and Deliverance

Every interviewee claimed that Zambian Neo-Pentecostals' emphasis on healing and exorcism stands in the tradition of both indigenous religion and classical Pentecostalism. More than half of the interviewees asserted that the doctrine that divine healing is provided in the atonement is not a monolithic and naïve affirmation that faith in Jesus Christ heals all who are sick. This Neo-Pentecostals' teaching relies on the biblical affirmation that all who came to Jesus were healed (Matt. 8:16; Lk. 6:19) and that the power of divine healing continued in the ministry of the early Church (Acts 5:16). Nonetheless, Warrington warns that "Neo-Pentecostals should come to realise that Jesus' healings are not paradigmatic realisations but more anticipations of a new world order not yet fully realised."[415]

Sixty-nine percent of interviewees reported that Neo-Pentecostals teach that the work of the Holy Spirit manifests more tangibly the existential tension exposed by the confrontation between sickness and healing. More than half of interviewees asserted that the widespread use of television and other media has reshaped Neo-Pentecostals' more institutionalised practices, particularly in the urban areas. Interviewees revealed that vocalised healing prayers are sometimes uttered by the Neo-Pentecostal's healers following a strict format and pattern that can be reproduced through various media. It is important to state here that loud faith

[415] See Keith Warrington, *Jesus the Healer: Paradigm or Phenomenon* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 1-29, 141-163.

utterances are not an uncommon practice, particularly notable for healing in China, for example, where some "Pentecostals take the vocalisation of faith to heart and 'yell' or shout – a radical form of public expression – to reach the realm of the Word to the realm of the Spirit."[416] Zambian Neo-Pentecostal healing utterances share some commonalities with Kydd's observations on their forms and functions:

> Historical models of healing show that the diverse vocalising practices can be seen through varying lenses as confrontational (to challenge evil and sickness), intercessory (to intervene on behalf of the sick), incubational (to initiate and aid a healing process over time), revelational (to speak beyond the sickness) and soteriological (to make healing a normative Christian practice).[417]

Eighty percent of interviewees stated that for Zambian Neo-Pentecostal healers, the vocal participation by those suffering is equally as important as the exclamation of healing on behalf of the sick. Anderson explains the notion behind this practice, where the spoken "word of faith is sometimes seen as 'positive confession' despite one's physical circumstances. The principle of faith refers to ability to claim one's healing through positive confession."[418] Every interviewee stated that all Zambian Neo-Pentecostal healers always emphasise that divine healing is possible if the sick can claim it by faith. As seen in the previous section (6.4.3), there is a segment of Zambian Neo-Pentecostals that understand that salvation is not fully realised without the healing of sicknesses. On the other hand, Farah finds that the Neo-Pentecostal understanding of "divine healing is based on an over-realised eschatology whereby healers insist that complete healing is possible in the present, provided one has sufficient faith and when the sick do not get healed, the healers usually blame the sick person for lack of faith."[419] What might at first glance appear contradictory theological themes of (1)

[416] See Edmond Tang, "'Yellers' and Healers: Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Pentecostalism in China," in *Asian and Pentecostal*, ed. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (Oxford: Regnum, 2005), 379-394.
[417] See Ronald A. N. Kydd, *Healing Through the Centuries: Models for Understanding* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998),
[418] See Allan Anderson, "Pentecostal Approaches to Faith and Healing," *IRM*, vol. 91, no. 363 (2002): 532-534.
[419] Charles Farah, "A Critical Analysis: The Roots and Fruits of Faith Formula Theology," *PNEUMA*, vol. 3 (1981): 3-21.

healing required to fully realise one's salvation and (2) healing expected to be demonstrated in a highly-realised eschatology, have already been seen as not mutually exclusive beliefs for Zambian neo-Pentecostals, because salvation is a present realised eschatology within the full complement of spirit, soul and body (see 6.4.3 on salvation).

Various symbolic objects, such as anointed oil and anointed water, are commonly used by certain Neo-Pentecostal healing ministers, who place emphasis on human acts of faith, rather than the divine grace of healing. Pressure is typically exerted to always expect healing as a demonstration of personal faith. Warrington suggests an important counterbalance to such perspectives on sickness and faith, arguing that:

> Pentecostal-Charismatic healers need to appreciate that sickness cannot always hinder ones' spiritual development but rather they should concede that sickness can be a great spiritual aid. From this understanding, it may be possible for Pentecostals-Charismatics to develop a faith-based methodology that asserts the principles of divine healing yet allows for the formative role of sickness and suffering in Christian discipleship.[420]

This perspective on sickness presents as a challenge to the status quo of Zambian Neo-Pentecostal healers, a notion having already providing opportunity for the operation of the principle of divine grace in the lives of individuals working through sicknesses in the wider Zambian church. Although there are reservations about the formulaic nature of much of such Neo-Pentecostal healers' teaching, its connections made between divine healing and evangelism are an area that would find strong support in the broader charismatic-Pentecostal tradition.

[420] Warrington argues that "not all benefit of Christ's atoning work will be experienced in this present life; suffering and sickness can play an important role in ones' spiritual development as he or she learns to rely and trust God exclusively during suffering or sickness. James 4: 13-16 encourages Christians to depend upon God's will for their plans, which sits very comfortably with the Reformed understanding of the sovereignty of God." See Warrington, *Pentecostal Perspectives*, 154.

According to Van Binsbergen "for Neo-Pentecostals, conversion by becoming 'born again' signifies an act of healing that deals with the past and extends beyond the personal into wider circles of social interaction."[421] Mildnerová explains that:

> The main aim of Zambian Neo-Pentecostal healers is to persuade the believers to create a distance from their sinful life before the conversion whether it was linked to ancestral spirit worshipping, abuse of alcohol or living in polygamy. Hence, they believe that the success of healing a patient lies in his or her conversion. Being 'born again' thus represents the way of getting rid of all afflictions and regaining health.[422]

All respondents unsurprisingly affirmed that Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches place strong emphasis on divine healing and portrayed the methods of obtaining healing as differ slightly from one church to another. According to all interviewees, Zambian Neo-Pentecostals healing methods echo the dynamics of New Testament accounts of healing including instances of carrying the sick into the path of the disciples, seeking healing through the shadow of the apostles and through handkerchiefs or aprons (Acts 5:12-16; 14:8-18; 19:11-20). Alexander argues about Pentecostalism that "the diverse practices of healing methods reflect a discernible sacramental character, embedded in the sacramentality of the baptism in the Spirit in the healing context of the altar."[423]

Although 'Spirit-led' in theory, Neo-Pentecostal churches in practice have developed distinct relatively fixed Holy Spirit ordinances, not unlike the formation of rites in traditional sacramental churches, based here on New Testament narrative healing events taken as models. More than half of the interviewees revealed that prayer and fasting occupies a significant part in the healing and deliverance rituals of Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches.

---

[421] Wim M. J. van Binsbergen, *Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies* (London: Kegan Paul International, 2006), 106.
[422] Mildnerová, "African Independent Churches in Zambia (Lusaka), 8-25.
[423] See Kimberly E. Alexander, "The Pentecostal Church: A Sacramental Healing Community," *Ecumenical Trends*, vol. 41, no. 8 (2012): 1-14.

Interviewees claimed that in nearly all cases of deliverance, the person seeking help is encouraged to engage in a fast. Similarly, the deliverance pastor and his or her team fast to deal with an immediate case, or to prepare themselves ahead of time for such future ministry. A major biblical text used by Neo-Pentecostals to support their belief in prayer and fasting to develop effectiveness in deliverance ministry is Matt. 17:21. Every interviewee claimed that the spiritual exercise of prayer and fasting are held as pre-requisites for increasing the level of one's anointing, maintaining spiritual alertness, sensitivity and a sharpness in readiness to deal with any satanic attack. It is the belief of Neo-Pentecostal healers that there are categories of issues and situations which can only be dealt with by believers having attained particular levels of anointing. Others believe that living a life of regular fasting and praying is one of the prices to be paid for the anointing to minister healing and deliverance. All the interviewees revealed that the level of anointing which a 'man' or 'woman of God' carries is one of the themes regularly discussed in determining who to invite to conduct a family or community deliverance programme. Anointing is seen as the marker for how effective and powerful a healer is. Thus, the phrase 'powerful man/woman of God' is used to refer to such Neo-Pentecostal healers. According to interviewees, the anointing is usually measured by various observable facts such as being 'slain in the Holy Spirit' and the occurrence of miraculous healings, spectacular deliverances, words of knowledge and prophetic utterances during preaching and ministration.

All interviewees acknowledged that people attending Neo-Pentecostal meetings are more interested in pneumatological signs than in the oratory delivery, eloquence, grammatical accuracy, doctrinal depth and theological mastery exhibited by the pastor. According to interviewees, the quest for the ministerial services of the 'anointed' men and women of God has given rise to a strong tendency towards 'spiritual hero' worship in Zambian Neo-

Pentecostalism. According to Kalu, "these are the 'big men or women of the big God.'[424] Such pastors would fit appropriately into the category described by Clark as "possessing great wealth and influence of almost wizard-like autonomous spiritual potency, a celebrity who is never defeated or depressed, a leader of God-given anointing and authority."[425] These heroic celebrity figures at the top are part of an inspiration-attainment dynamic where ordinary church members are also encouraged to act at a lower levels of potency and build upon this (see 6.4.6 Spiritual Gifts). Given the elevation placed on Zambian Neo-Pentecostal leaders who are seen as powerfully anointed, the question arises where the notion of being anointed is derived from. According to Graham:

> The word 'anoint; anoiting' is six times translated from *aliepho* to mean 'to oil with grease, fat, sumptuousness,'[426] for instance, they 'anointed with oil many that were sick' (Mk. 6:13). Twice it is translated from *epichrio* 'to smear over.' For example, 'anointed the eye of the blind man' (Jn. 9:6). Seven times it is translated from: *chrisma* 'to smear, to endow with;' or *chrio*, 'to smear, to consecrate.' Unlike the very physical *aliepho* and *epichrio*, the paired words *chrisma* and *chrio*, in their sense of 'endow' and 'consecrate' are the only realistic New Testament Greek words that come close to matching the sense of spiritual 'anointing' used of charismatic-Pentecostals preachers. *Chrisma* and *chrio* are used only seven times, four of which refer specifically to Jesus Christ. Of the remaining three times the first refers to Paul, and arguably in that instance, to all the *ekklesia* at Corinth (2 Cor. 1:21). The last two occurrences relate to all believers (1 Jn. 2:26-27). The word *charisma*, 'endowment' of is also translated one time as 'unction' and in a verse addressed to all believers (1 Jn. 2:20).[427]

It is clear from this brief study of *chrisma* and *chrio*, that from the first century perspective all born-again believers have this New Testament sense of anointing. Its applicability to all believers must also hold true when this biblical usage of spiritual 'anointing' is generalised to Christians today, through the narrative of the Holy Spirit coming to all at Pentecost within the charismatic-Pentecostal hermeneutic.

---

[424] Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 103-113.
[425] Mathew S. Clark, "What is Distinctive About Pentecostal Theology? 22 Years Later, available at: www.glopent.net/.../what-is-distinctive-about-pent-theol-22-years-on.pdf accessed February 20, 2015.
[426] See Maxwell S. Graham, *Last Stone Standing: Why Do It the Way We Do?* (Wexford: Wigglesworth Press, 2010), 116-117.
[427] Grahma, *Last Stone Standing*, 116-17.

As Faupel observes, "it is a usual practice within Neo-Pentecostalism to develop interpretative models from biblical motifs and narratives, especially in the Old Testament and apply them to various situations in the believer's life."[428] Zambian Neo-Pentecostals healers use the battle between David and Goliath (1 Samuel 17) as a type of spiritual warfare between the believer through Christ and the devil or 'giants' of poverty, stagnation, sickness and disease or even death. The wall of Jericho (Joshua 5) is interpreted by Neo-Pentecostal healers as the opposition, obstacles and hinderances confronting and trying to stop a sick believer from entering his or her promised land. For Zambian Neo-Pentecostal healers, the 'promised land' may refer to success, wealth, prosperity and breakthrough in various aspects of life. Sixty percent of interviewees revealed that since the 1990s the Neo-Pentecostals' ministry of God's Word shifted from seeking to convert sinners and the sanctification of believers to liberating the saint and empowering him or her to step into their inheritance in Christ Jesus. Since then, the two major emphases in contemporary Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches have been on deliverance and spiritual warfare.

According to all interviewees, these emphases are regarded as two sides of the same coin. Deliverance is seen as a means of countering opposition and is regarded as a positive force, seeking to resolve abnormalities in the life of the believer. The reason for this perception is because of the stress, in the deli God-given anointing verance economy, on Satan, principalities and powers of darkness, curses, witchcraft, the occult and the misery and adversity they cause to the believer. However, it should be noted that the deliverance ministry has always been part of the programme of the Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches since the 1940s, although the nature, ministerial model, scope, emphasis and ritual practices

[428] David W. Faupel, "The Functions of 'Models' in the Interpretation of Pentecostal Thought," *PNEUMA*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1980): 51-71.

have been changing. Every interviewee revealed that deliverance from demons is a major part of healing ministry in nearly all the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches. Deliverance from demons is viewed as a form of healing in Zambian Neo-Pentecostalism, and indeed was as such a major aspect of the personal ministry of Jesus in the Synoptic gospels,[429] an interviewee assertion, evidenced in Matt. 9:32-34; 12:22-30 and Lk. 4:39; 7:21; 13:2. According to Twelftree:

> Of the thirteen healing stories in Mark's Gospel, the last four mentioned (namely, 1:21-28; 5:1-20; 7:24-30 and 9:14-29) involved the casting out of demons. In some of the cases, demons seem to be held responsible for sicknesses, diseases, mental disorder and physical deformities of their victims. For instance, in Mark 9:14-29, Jesus commanded the spirit that stopped the epileptic young man from speaking and hearing to leave and when it did, he fully recovered the use of both senses. Here, healing occurred through the casting of demons. This demonstrates a possible relationship between some cases of demonization and sicknesses.[430]

Although there seem to be biblical connections at times between deliverance and healing, it should be noted that when sending out of the twelve (Matt. 10:7-8; Mk. 6:7, 13 and Lk. 9:1; also Mk. 16:17-18) the tasks of healing the sick and casting out demons were listed by Jesus as separate activities, which implies that they were no causal connections made here, as confirmed in gospel narrative events e.g. Mk. 1:23-27, 34. Thus, despite the gospels forming the theological basis to the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal emphasis on a necessary connection between deliverance and healing, this emphasis contrasts the gospel record which suggest that healing may not require deliverance, and deliverance can involve separate issues other than the provision of healing.

[429] Graham H. Twelftree, *Christ Triumphant: Exorcism Then and Now* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), 55.
[430] Ibid. 55.

6.4.5. Socio-Political Activism

All interviewees asserted that due to its flexibility and ability to adapt, Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia has undergone some radical changes regarding eschatology. Interviewees stated that eschatological practices have become redefined in terms of socio-political activism. The changes in eschatological practices especially among the Neo-Pentecostals reflect a dramatic transition in Neo-Pentecostal doctrine. Thompson writes that "Pentecostal concerns here dominate over dispensational hermeneutics, eschatological vision is grounded in Pentecostal soteriology and eschatological doctrine seeks to be a deliberate revision or abandonment of classical dispensationalism."[431] It is not surprising that the eschatological future is seen by Zambian Neo-Pentecostals in terms of the transformation, not the destruction of the present world. For Zambian Neo-Pentecostals, socio-political concerns for the kingdom of God take precedence over ideological concerns for pre-millennialism. Although still in its infancy, this political theology has allowed Neo-Pentecostals to develop ethical implications, opportunities and elements of cosmic transformation in their eschatology.

Every interviewee stated that for Zambian Neo-Pentecostals, healing involves a confrontation with spiritual powers, whether perceived as a struggle with oneself, oppressive social and political structures, or demonic influence. Neo-Pentecostals strongly believe that the Holy Spirit is the power of God against these 'principalities and powers' (Eph. 6:12), which can be overcome because of the atoning work of Christ. For Zambian Neo-Pentecostals, therefore, healing is redemption experienced as deliverance, liberation and exorcism taking place in a spiritual realm but manifested tangibly in the physical world. The pervasive nature and

[431] Mathew K. Thompson, "Kingdom Come: Revisioning Pentecostal Eschatology," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement* 37 (Blandford Forum, UK: Deo, 2010), 59-160.

doctrinal consolidation of the belief in socio-political activism is demonstrated by the fact that it taught by even one of the most celebrated Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic leaders, Dr. Nevers Mumba. The case of Zambia is particularly interesting, because it is a 'Christian nation' according to its constitution. Whilst religion and politics are closely related in Africa in general, Zambia presents a unique case, where a particular type of Christianity – Neo-Pentecostalism – is being nationalised, and as a result, the nation is being Christianised. In Zambia, religious and political interactions are localised and specific. Given the relative strength of the Neo-Pentecostals and the limited size of the dominant elite, Neo-Pentecostal church leaders can exert a direct and personal influence on politicians in a way that the complexities of the American political system would not allow. These personalised politics stand in contrast to the highly organised politicking of the USA Christian Right. In Zambia, as in the USA and Latin America, Neo-Pentecostals engagement with politics has not always produced desired results. Politicians such as the late Zambian Republican president Chiluba and the current president Edgar Changwa Lungu have partnered with Neo-Pentecostals in moments of crisis only to abandon the counsel of leading clerics when it is no longer required.

Every interviewee claimed that for most Zambian Neo-Pentecostals preaching the good news of salvation implies bearing witness to a liberating and searching God. According to Zambian Neo-Pentecostals, salvation is of God (Gen. 49:18; Ex. 14:13; 1 Sam. 2:1; 1 Chron. 16:23; Ps. 13:5; 27:1; 37:39; 50:23; 51:12; 70:4; 118:14; Is. 12:2; Jer. 3:23; Lam. 3:26; Mic. 7:7; Lk. 1:69, 77; 2:30; 3:6; Acts 4:12; 28:28; Rom. 1:16; Eph. 1:13; 1 Thess. 5:9; Rev. 7:10; 12:10; 19:1). Thus, God actualises salvation in deliverance of the oppressed from bondage and captivity, in the quality of life which he demands from his creatures, and in his creative and providential deeds in the cosmos. Half of the interviewees claimed that Zambian Neo-

Pentecostals understand that Jesus Christ's saving work takes the struggles of mankind into consideration. For this reason, they believe that they bear a tremendous responsibility. Since Christ had experienced the reality of God's liberating action in history, the manifestation of this reality must be interpreted as occurring within time. Hence, Zambian Neo-Pentecostals define the nature of their socio-political theology in the context of the totality of salvation. For them, salvation offers a comprehensive wholeness in this otherwise divided life; it is not only personal but collective.

Salvation is of a social quality for Neo-Pentecostals; it not only has future dimension, but present one as well. Seventy-seven percent of interviewees claimed that, as members of the eschatological community of salvation, Neo-Pentecostals see themselves as having been called to interpret Jesus' saving work by actualising in their everyday life the essential characteristics of salvation. Hence, their participation in the life of God's kingdom demands a commitment to socio-political action. In other words, salvation for Neo-Pentecostals is operative not only in the realm of the spiritual, but also in the social and collective dimensions of life. All interviewees asserted that there are at least two dimensions where Zambian Neo-Pentecostals see Christ's saving action at work:

a. Salvation works in the struggle for human dignity against man's political oppression by his fellowmen.
b. Salvation works in the struggle of hope against despair in personal life.

All the interviewees claimed that Zambian Neo-Pentecostalism can be understood as a political spirituality which resists the distinction between sacred and secular. For Zambian Neo-Pentecostals, the 'born-again' project of conversion does not just concern the individual,

but is a political project that subjects the nation to the discourse of being 'born-again' in Christ and combating the influence of the devil.

6.4.6. Spiritual Gifts

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees revealed that in Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches, emphasis is always placed on power and supernatural manifestations of the Holy Spirit. According to interviewees, Neo-Pentecostals attach great importance to the spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12:8-10), which they perceive as charismatic features of renewal. The importance of spiritual gifts extends out of a dynamic of burgeoning ministeries that invite and anticipate the occurance of manifestations. Eckhardt describes the developments where:

> Nationally, Zambian Neo-Pentecostals are currently seeing another Reformation. God is restoring the ministries of apostle and prophets with the church. Once the apostolic and prophetic dimensions are released in the church, the very nature of the church will change.[432]

Eighty-nine percent of interviewees revealed that Neo-Pentecostals understand that one outcome of exercising spiritual gifts is that individual Christians are given access to experience the power of the Holy Spirit. This interviewee observation follows standard Pentecostal dynamic described by Bruner as the pursuit of "a ministry, a power and spiritual sensitivity which is not necessarily found in ecclesiastical rites, ceremonies, ordinations or commissions, but through a 'confirmable' experiential encounter with the Holy Spirit."[433] More than half of interviewees asserted that as a consequence, there is the democratisation of ministry in nearly all the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches, particularly with respect to the

[432] J. Eckhardt, *Transpositioning From the Pastoral to the Apostolic* (Chicago, IL: Crusades Ministries, 2000), 1, 59.
[433] Frederick D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1970), 22.

emphasis placed on every-member-ministry. It is not surprising therefore, to note that personal spiritual power for every believer has become a hallmark of most Zambian Neo-Pentecostals' theology and pastoral endeavour. This development in the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches is echoed by Stott who writes that "the operation of the manifestations of spiritual gifts are understood by Neo-Pentecostals in terms of empowerment because these gifts are fundamentally relational and operate in 'humble self-submission' to the whole community of believer."[434] The developments of the previously discussed spiritual celebrity status in Neo-Pentecostalism are not necessarily in tension with this grass-roots emphasis on individual spiritual pursuit, because although elevated above ordinary members, Spiritual heros can in theory be seen as aspirational, as part of their understanding of the attainment of different levels of anointing and power.

The question arises whether the purpose of exercising spiritual gifts is seen to lie beyond the benefits of personal spiritual development. For example, it might be hoped that as Macchia suggests "the expression of spiritual gifts reveals a brief glimpse of the peaceable kingdom of God yet to come."[435] In regard to the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches , ninety-six percent of interviewees claimed that emphasis is placed on serving others through the use of spiritual gifts. This interviewee perception corresponds with Welker's assertion that:

> For the communal nature of spiritual gifts, a theme consistent with the principle of interrelatedness in process-relational theology. The charisms are not private gifts for private consumption. Hence, the relational imperative of spiritual gifts is an inherent restriction of their use – only for the service of others.[436]

[434] J. Stott, *The Baptism and Fullness of the Holy Spirit* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1964).
[435] Frank D. Macchia, *Baptised in the Holy Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2006), 148.
[436] Michael Welker, *God and Spirit* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 2004), 241.

Chan similarly argues that "to exercise spiritual gifts is a form of relational empowerment because the gifts are rendered impotent if they are used for other purposes than to edify, encourage and empower others. As such, spiritual gifts may be liberated to 'operate freely' in the church and in the world."[437] Despite questions over spiritual heroism, the notion that Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches are promoting a relational vision of the Spirit-filled life which involves both enthusiastic fellowship both with the Holy Spirit and an emphasis on benefiting others, will be seen as a encouraging trajectory to the movement by the wider Pentecostal-Charismatic community observing Zambian ecclesiastical trends. Such an emphasis would be viewed as conducive to manifestations of the Holy Spirit and the development of gifting and confidence to perform signs and wonders expected to accompany and authenticate the Full Gospel message. Every interviewee asserted that the role of manifestations of the Holy Spirit, particularly those of divine healing are prominent within the evangelism praxis of Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches.

Anderson writes that "African Pentecostals-Charismatics need to see the role of divine healing as good news for the poor and the afflicted."[438] Furthermore, McClung claimed that "divine healing, is an 'evangelistic door-opener' for Pentecostals, 'signs and wonders' are the evangelistic means whereby the message of God's kingdom is actualised in person-centred deliverance."[439] In like manner, all the interviewees revealed that the manifestation of the spiritual gifts has contributed to the growth of Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. Anderson's observation that "the manifestations of the Spirit serve two main purposes:

[437] Simon Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (London: Continuum, 2001), 105.
[438] See Allan Anderson, "Toward a Pentecostal Missiology for the Majority World," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2015): 33-34.
[439] Grant L. McClung, "Truth on Fire: Pentecostals and an Urgent Missiology," in *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecostal Missions and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Wagner (South Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1986), 49.

Firstly, they demonstrate the power and divinity of Jesus Christ and secondly, they meet the needs of people,"[440] describes paired benefits impacting on growth rates also in Zambia.

In summary, the challenge for Zambian Neo-Pentecostals is whether a cult of the superhero will continue to rise, eclipse ordinary believers and seek to maintain perceived 'levels' of spirituality, or whether a grassroots movement will take the fore – one that although respecting the genuine guidance of a leadership combining honed spiritual giftedness with humility, continues to develop the Full Gospel focussed gifting and relationship with the Holy Spirit for all believers.

6.4.7. Eschatology and Evangelism

Early Zambian Pentecostalism understood itself to be an eschatological movement, in much the same way as classical Pentecostalism in general, in which "the pneumatological lens of reading the eschatological narratives of Luke-Acts through the work of God's Spirit formed the foundation of Pentecostal eschatology and missiology, two interwoven aspects of Pentecostal theology that should not be separated.[441] Zambian Neo-Pentecostals have already been seen as extending the notion of salvation in a realised eschatology that affects the physical body (6.4.3) and socio-political activism (6.4.5). The question arises how their realised eschatology has affected this twin-headed eschatological-missiology theology.In protestant theology, at least of the evangelical vein, salvation is closely, if not exclusively, linked with the gospel message, involving evangelism and mission. Every interviewee revealed that Zambian Neo-Pentecostals Churches strongly believe that Christian salvation

[440] G. L. Anderson, "Signs and Wonders," in *The Pentecostal Pastor: A Mandate for the 21st Century*, eds. Thomas E. Trask, Wayde I. Goodall and Zenas J. Bicket (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1997), 305.
[441] See Julie Ma, "Eschatology and Mission: Living in the 'Last Days' Today," *Transformation,* vol. 26, no. 3 (2009): 186-198.

includes both the transformation of human beings into the image of Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit and the transformation of creation by God. They believe that salvation which arises from this transformation is multi-dimensional, affecting not only personal and familial lives but also touching the full complement of ecclesial, material and socio-political issues. This transformation also has cosmic and eschatological implications in Neo-Pentecostals thinking. Interviewees claimed that Neo-Pentecostals believe that salvation is to be found in concrete, ordinary, everyday experiences of the Holy Spirit being poured out on people as social, political, economic and spiritual beings. Zambian Neo-Pentecostals deduce that salvation is human participation in saving work of God through Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit. Evangelism is therefore part of and integral in this fairly all encompassing soterological event. All the interviewees suggested that contemporary Zambian Neo-Pentecostals are recovering the prophetic, socio-political and transformative dimensions of the Zambian Pentecostal movement, as well as emphasising a more socially and ethically responsible eschatology.

It is necessary to state that there are still Pentecostal and Charismatic Zambian believers who think that Pentecostalism should not be fully engaged in the political affairs of the mation.

6.4.8. The Prosperity Gospel

The Prosperity Gospel, according to Roberts, "rests upon an understanding of God's causal relationship to everyday life and this 'divine economy' is based on the belief that God wants to provide his people with material prosperity."[442] All interviewees concurred that the Prosperity Gospel came to Zambia through international networks and media technologies.

[442] Original quote found in Debra J. Mumford, "Prosperity Gospel in African American Prophetic Preaching," *Review and Expositor*, vol 109 (2012): 356-385.

Indeed, since the 1990s, the Prosperity Gospel has been publicised through national television the Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), the North American literature and evangelical gospel campaigns. Almost all interviewees (112 out of 115) claimed that the Prosperity Gospel is not original to any of the three traditions of Pentecostalism in Zambia. Of these, only the Neo-Pentecostal streams have adopted the American style of prosperity message and methods. Interviewees also claimed that currently, there are a variety of different Prosperity Gospels in Zambia. However, the underlying message of prosperity preachers is the same, that God rewards his children with material wealth, good health, victory, financial success and faith. Eighty-six percent of interviewees stated that prosperity preachers teach that through renewed faith, positive thinking and action, one can trust God to confer health, wealth and victory in this temporal existence. This kind of prosperity teaching is what Bowler claims to be "the most widely popular Christian message of spiritual, physical and financial mastery."[443] The notion that this mastery over financial need is part of the way in which a life tainted by death is overcome, distinctly marks the Prosperity Gospel as promoted in Zambia.

The Prosperity Gospel has taken root in the nation because basic living conditions are in many ways impoverished. Prosperity preachers appear to have few ethical qualms in promoting a prosperity message that purports to meet the populace at the point of its stark and basic needs. Financial probity and transparency needs to be incorporated into their Neo-Pentecostal praxis to provide reliable data to inform if it is the case that not just the leaders on their generous gifted incomes, but the broader church population that are benefitting financially as promised from sacrificial giving.

[443] Kate Bowler, *A History of the American Prosperity Gospel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3-7.

The nature of the theological discourse and hermeneutical framework that underpins doctrinal formulation of the Prosperity Gospel in Zambia tilts more towards Biblicism rather than either systematic theology or biblical exegesis. Frame describes Biblicists:

> As those who have no respect for confessions, creeds and past theologians, who insist on ignoring these and going back to the Bible to build up their doctrinal formulations from the scratch, those who employ a proof texting method, rather than trying to see Scripture texts in their historical, cultural, logical, and literary contexts.[444]

As far as the Prosperity Gospel is concerned, all one hundred and fifteen interviewees insisted Zambian prosperity preachers' understanding of prosperity has been affecting their membership's obedience and dedication to the 'Great Commission' (Mk. 11:12-14; 20-26 and 2 Tim. 4:1-4). Prosperity preachers do not offer a well-balanced hermeneutical approach to biblical texts.[445] Basic biblical exegesis skills need to be learnt before engaging in biblical exposition on any topic like prosperity, with exegesis teaching also available from leading scholarship originating within the Pentecostal community.[446]

Zambian Neo-Pentecostal prosperity preachers need to turn from the American prosperity teaching emphases of extravagance and prominence based on frequently demonstrated faulty exegesis, because the results are that poor believers are made to believe that because they are poor, they are out of God's will. This leads to what Fee calls a 'devil-defeated life.'[447] Neo-Pentecostals prosperity preachers should use God's Word to challenge members to break free from debt, because the reality is that members fall into debt for different family, social and

[444] John M. Frame, *In Defence of Something Close to Biblicism: Reflections on 'Sola Scriptura' and History in Theological Method* (1997), http://www.frame-poythress.org/frame_articles/Biblicism.htm [assessed: February 12, 2016].
[445] See Clark, "An Investigation into the Nature of a Viable Pentecostal Hermeneutic," 71.
[446] Among his other books on the subject, Gordon D. Fee, *New Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors* (Louiseville: WJK, 2002), 6-9.
[447] Gordon D. Fee, *The Disease of the Health and Wealth Gospels* (Vancouver: Front Line Publishing, 2006), 8-9.

economic reasons. The devil and evil spirits cannot be blamed for financial choices people make, nor even the current Zambian economic crisis with high rates of unemployment. Zambian Neo-Pentecostal prosperity preachers need to avoid at all cost what McConnell describes as "prosperity theological paradigms which are premises of Christian Science and New Thought Epistemologies."[448] A biblical invitation to simplicity and material humility (Matt. 5:45 and Phil. 4:10-13) should be encouraged by these Neo-Pentecostal prosperity preachers. Neo-Pentecostals should acknowledge that there is a difference between biblical preaching on money and finances, and distorted forms of prosperity teaching placing blame on the poor for lack of faith. There is an undeniable biblical link between God's blessing and human prosperity, with God seen to bless in material ways. Examples of both direct and implicit financial benefit occur in NT teaching and narrative. Provision may be supernatural, as in the food from the miraculous catch of fish (Lk. 5:1-11; Jn 21:6-9), the coin in the fish's mouth (Mt. 17:27), healed lepers could go home to contribute to family (Lk. 17:11-19), and an unproductive cripple is healed (Jn. 5:7-9) with an encouragement to change from sinning lest a worse state than before is reached (Jn. 5:14).

On the practical transformational side, the rich in the Christian community sold land to help the poor (Acts 4:34), collections were taken for famine in Judea (Acts 11.29), the tax collector returned with interest his ill gained wealth (Lk. 19:8) in this way also redistributing cash flow in benefit of the local economy, the prodigal was reformed from a lax and licentious lifestyle and returned home with intention to work on his father's productive farm (Lk. 15:11-32), and at a political level, potential rebels in danger of receiving the personal costs of judgement, are taught to be those deserving commendation (Rom. 13:2-4). Apart

[448] See D. R. McConnell, *A Different Gospel: A Historical and Biblical Analysis of the Modern Faith Movement* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), 30.

from suffering want through ministry persecution events (1 Cor. 4:11), Paul is otherwise content in what he has, whether plenty or little (Phil. 4:12). Therefore, the concern is not with transformative and material benefits from being a Christian, but with the hermeneutical, ethical and pastoral abuses arising from prosperity theology. Whilst disagreeing strongly on the means, underlying theology and their vision of spiralling wealth, the area of agreement with Zambian prosperity gospel preachers involves one aspect of the desired results – the notion of liberating people from spiritual and physical poverty and lifting them up in socio-economic terms for the betterment of society.

6.4.9. Worship and Ministration

More than half of interviewees affirmed that in all the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches emphasis is placed on the importance of renewal through personal and corporate religious experiences. Worship is intended to be highly transformational in Pentecostalism in general, where it "touches the totality of Pentecostals' existence and influences all dimensions of their lives, making it possible for them to live."[449] All interviewees claimed that in nearly all the praise and worship services in Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches, members routinely experience pneumatological outpouring and manifestations. This has affinities with the encounters in early Pentecostalism from the Asuza Street years, where Jacobsen describes expansive and complete sense of encounter in which "during Pentecostal worship services, it is possible for the participants to fully experience the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the spiritual gifts."[450] The question arises whether such a focus on pneumatology in worship leaves an impoverished Christological and Trinitarian emphasis in these Neo-Pentecostal

[449] J. W. Shepperd, "Worship," in *The New Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley Burgess and E. van der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 1217.
[450] Douglas G. Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), 90.

churches. Over half of the interviewees revealed that during Zambian Neo-Pentecostals worship services much stress is placed on the validity of their experience in walking with God, citing the transfiguration, Paul's Damascus experience and his heavenly vision (Matt. 17:1-9; Acts 9:1-22 and 2 Cor. 12:1-9). A Christological relationship is seen to be embedded in the pneumatological worship of the broader spectrum of churches in the Neo-Pentecostal stream, as Alvarado suggests, "it is the theological understanding of the person and work of the resurrected Jesus Christ that frames Neo-Pentecostal experiences during their worship services."[451] As Bobrinskoy appears to imply, no matter how Christologically focussed, worship necessarily consists entirely of a pneumatologically interaction:

> the Holy Spirit is the subject and the entire content of that vocation by Christ [interceding as High Priest]. The whole of Christian worship thus constitutes an unceasing vocation which culminates in the continual Pentecost of the Spirit in the church which is the temple of the Holy Spirit.[452]

Furthermore, Bridges argues that Pentecostal streams are demonstrably Trinitarian by including pneumatology, where "the Holy Spirit disposes believers to be in communion with God during worship and Pentecostal worship enables the church to honour the Triune God, to exalt our Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour of the whole world and Head of the Church, to edify the Church and let the power and presence of God be manifested on earth through the Holy Spirit."[453] If Zambian Neo-Pentecostals develop and maintain a strong Christological focus few in the broader Pentecostal-Charismatic world would fault their desire to allow space for what is described as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. With an experiential demonstrative 'Spirit-led' focus to Pentecostal worship, it is not surprising, especially in the African context, that all interviewees affirmed that Zambian Neo-Pentecostals believe in exuberant

[451] Johnathan E. Alvarado, "Pentecostal Epiclesis: A Model for Teaching and Learning," *PNEUMA*, vol. 35 (2013): 180-198.
[452] Boris Bobrinskoy, "Holy Spirit," in Nicholas Lossky (ed.), *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva: WWC Publications, 1991), 472.
[453] J. K. Bridges, "Making Place for Pentecostals Distinctive," in *The Pentecostal Pastor*, 544.

and emotional praise and worship with an emphasis on spontaneous worship characterised by singing, drumming, clapping of hands, vocal praise, dancing and the practice of spiritual gifts as important elements of Neo-Pentecostals' praise and worship services. Onyinah commenting on Ghanaian situation asserts that "spiritual gifts are integral part of the Neo-Pentecostal meetings... and they emphasise spontaneity and experience rather than ritual and tradition in their meetings."[454] A great deal of this practice is culturally important to the African way of life. It is sometimes raw and emotional, and finds echoes in Ralph's description of how:

> Both emotions and experience are essential outgrowth of genuine faith in Jesus Christ. An authentic spiritual experience will involve emotions and feelings. The sense often becoming intense and transcending the normal. This may include strong feelings of remorse over sin, a mighty sense of trust that surpasses the pain of a traumatic situation, an overpowering peace amid trouble and the overwhelming sense of joy related to confidence and hope in God.[455]

In terms of the physical and emotional practice of worship, few Pentecoastal-Charismatics in Africa and other expressive cultures would find too much to fault in the demonstrations of pneumatological exhuberance (cf. 2 Sam. 6:15-16, 22) in Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches, so long as the emotion is genuine and Christologically directed.

All one hundred and fifteen interviewees revealed that a typical Zambian Neo-Pentecostal worship service has two main components. Namely, the ministry of God's Word (a message or sermon) and the ministration. It is common practice that during the second part of the service the preacher will pray for individuals, cast out demons, break spiritual yokes, chains, negative covenants and all kinds of curses, and anointing the sick with oil for healing.

[454] Opoky Onyinah, *Pentecostals and Charismatics: Similarities and Dissimilarities* (Accra: Pentecost Press Limited, 2006), 42.
[455] Mahoney Ralph, *The Shepherd's Staff, Indian Edition* (Madras: India Bible Literature, Kilpauk, 1993), 34-35.

Interviewees reported that the preacher also leads the congregation in various kinds of prayers and makes prophetic declarations for receiving success, blessing, prosperity, financial breakthrough and God's favour. All the interviewees claimed that most members are often more interested in this aspect of the service than the sermon especially during the Sunday worship services or other special programmes such as all-night prayer meetings. Interviewees alleged that most members consider the sermon as mere talk, while the ministration is the real thing, a time when the preacher demonstrates that he or she has the anointing to back up his or her teaching or to 'deliver the goods' in terms of meeting their felt needs.

A typical biblical citation used by Neo-Pentecostals and others to prove this perspective is based on Paul's statement, "My speech and my proclamation were not with plausible words of wisdom, but with a demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Cor. 2:4)." This Pauline emphasis on the validation of his apostolic Christian ministry by pneumatological power is applied in such a way as to place an expectation on seeing demonstrations of manifest pneumaological power through spiritual gifts that will transform lives and personal circumstances. This accounts for the emphasis most Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches place on miracles, healing, deliverance and prosperity as the expected outcomes of anointed preaching and teaching ministries. These expectations lend support to the labelling of the Neo-Pentecostal movement in general as a religion of power.[456] The role of functionality and utilitarianism in the relationship between Zambian Neo-Pentecostalism and the worship of God is evident in its focus on the manifestation of power and elevated expectations of results. Power and results as dynamic elements are important factors in the decision-making matrix of Zambian traditionalists when choosing which deity to serve or traditional high priest to

[456] Veli-Matti Karkkainen, *Holy Spirit and Salvation: The Sources of Christian Theology* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), 414-418.

consult over a situation. The deity or priest chosen must be the one who can meet their personal needs, solve their problems, answer their questions and resolve their mysteries. This requirement has arguably been transplanted into the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal churches. Hence the high rate of membership turnover experienced by the Neo-Pentecostal churches as individuals engage in a spiritual type of shift cultivation, 'shopping around' for the most anointed servant of God to solve their problems.[457]

According to all one hundred and fifteen interviewees, converts to Neo-Pentecostal churches are attracted by powerful manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Sixty-five percent of interviewees stated that these trends have led to a demand for new 'revelations' on various Bible doctrines, which are readily supplied by different Neo-Pentecostal churches seeking to maintain an air of distinction from other churches. In so doing, greater numbers of attendees are attracted, which in turn guarantees increases in financial resources. Herein lies an important mutual relationship between the Prosperity Gospel and deliverance and prayer ministry in Neo-Pentecostal churches; funds are required for the leadership to demonstrate the success of their prosperity message and donating attendees are drawn in by dramatic and dynamic cutting-edge ministries proposing to meet their fundamental needs of healing and financial breakthrough. Thus, personal monetary gain is one of the reasons why some self-proclaimed ministers have targeted church ministries which should by normal biblical ethical standards seek to benefit those in need of help, not their own pockets.

[457] The author has observed this development over the past ten years since he was part of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia before relocating to the United Kingdom for theological studies. The situation was also confirmed by various interviewees during his fieldwork research in Zambia between March and April 2015. He is also constantly in touch with the on-going developments in the movement in Zambia through various media.

6.5. Chapter Conclusion

The emphases of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches are on evangelism, healing, otherworldliness, spiritual vitality, encounter with God's Spirit, holiness and other charismatic gifts. The concept of salvation of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in many ways correlates with the African primal worldview and cosmology which incorporates 'this-worldliness' and 'other-worldliness.' Classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia mainly follow the foundational doctrines and distinctives of the original movement, which are still concurrent in the west, although not always in every respect. A brief overview of the discussion on their theology and practice will demonstrate this point. The doctrine of baptism in the Holy Spirit is held to be a secondary experience. Interviewees were insistent that Zambian Classical Pentecostals hold fast to the teaching that speaking in tongues is the initial evidence. This is in contrast with some of their sister denominations in the west that have been moving away from this early position where the utterance of glossolalia has diminished in practice. The vocal expressiveness, zeal and widespread pneumatologically active praxis of Zambian believers ensures that quintessentially Classical Pentecostal theology of initial evidence remains experientially vibrant thereby reinforcing the doctrine. Baptism in the Holy Spirit involves the expected Classical empowerment for ministry focus.

Soteriology is Christocentric, following the early Classical Pentecostal emphasis of transformation and completeness within a Full Gospel focus and involving the early and Classical expectation of healing to be available to all believers because of salvation. Interviewees stated that Zambian Classical Pentecostals also see salvation as part of the Holy Spirit outpouring into the nations as part of Acts 2, because the Holy Spirit is the agent of salvation and transformation. However, this is not intended as a concession to Dunn's

pneumatology as a single soteriological experience, because the standard secondary experience interpretation of the Acts 2 glossolalia phenomenon still stands firm for these Pentecostals. Although not a particularly Classical Pentecostal distinctive, having more affinities to Catholicism and the inner healing stream emphases, interviewees observed that this soteriological transformation understanding is tripartite through the 'spirit' receiving forgiveness and sanctification, the 'soul' with renewed mental health and the 'body' its physical health. Zambian Classical Pentecostalism follows its movement's foundations where the new believer is to experience radical lifestyle change from sin as part of salvation, with discipleship also immediately following salvation. Thus, holiness is considered part of salvation and sanctification is entire, with little to fault in standards and the level of worldly separation insisted on by some of the more traditional churches of the Classical Pentecostal branches the Holiness tradition. Healing is found as a direct outworking of the atonement in keeping with early and Classical Pentecostalism, to the extent of throwing away medication. The eschatology of the returning Christ in the four-fold Gospel is important in Zambian Classical Pentecostalism, with eyes focussed on evangelism and their eschatological perspective resulting in the lack of initiative in social help projects. It is safe to state that Classical Pentecostalism in Zambia holds closer than many other Classical Pentecostal denominations to the movements foundations, albeit with some contextual variation.

The Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia are founded on the doctrine of the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the power of God. For the Neo-Pentecostals, the power of the Holy Spirit is not necessarily restricted to speaking in other tongues but can be found in other tangible and intangible manifestations of the Holy Spirit such as healing and prophecy. The Neo-Pentecostals base their understanding of divine healing on an over-realised eschatology whereby, they insist that complete healing is possible in the present, provided the one being

prayed for has sufficient faith. Thus, there was so much teaching and emphasis about faith as an active force required in dealing with every situation in life. Since the 1990s the areas of emphasis in Neo-Pentecostal ministry expanded to incorporate spiritual warfare, deliverance from curses, prosperity messages and socio-political activism.

In the following chapter, the study will offer theological reflection on the Prosperity Gospel and Zambian Social Pentecostalism.

CHAPTER SEVEN: REFLECTION

MORE WORK TO BE DONE ON THEOLOGIES OF SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND PROSPERITY GOSPEL

7.0. Introduction

It is the intention of this chapter to probe some important aspects of the current socio-political and Prosperity Gospel theologies of Zambian Pentecostalism, because these two topics are central to the theological context of Zambian Pentecostalism. This short chapter has four sections. Section 7.1 discusses how social Pentecostalism was introduced in Zambia. Section 7.2 offers theological reflection on Zambian Social Pentecostalism and outlines some of the key principles and parameters which are consistent with the nature of Social Pentecostalism. Section 7.3 discusses how the Prosperity Gospel was introduced in Zambia. Section 7.4 offers theological reflection on the Prosperity Gospel, before reaching a conclusion in 7.5.

7.1. The Introduction of Social Pentecostalism in Zambia

Interviewees pointed out that because of their flexibility and adaptability, Neo-Pentecostals have managed to influence religious and public spheres both theologically and socially. Far from being reactionary, Zambian Neo-Pentecostalism has been in the vanguard of change, driven by a passionate concern to share the Full Gospel and to do so by any means at its disposal. In modern times, the relationship between social activism and Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia has became doubly important. It is not surprising that nearly all the Neo-Pentecostal leaders have taken a position regarding Social Pentecostalism in Zambia. Between 1940 and 1950, interviewees categorised the relationship between Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics and socio-politics as rather indistinct due to a lack of social and

political theologies. Active participation in socio-political issues had not crossed their religious consciousness. Interviewees stated that by 1960 and 1970, the contribution to the socio-political life of Zambia was still inefficient, because Pentecostal-Charismatics were pacifists; and their pacifism was of a spiritual mould deeply grounded in their own understanding of the Christian Gospel. During this period, Pentecostal-Charismatics held dearly to their eschatological sentiments (Matt. 24:14; Lk. 21:10-38), focussing their attention on evangelism, discipleship and church growth. Interviewees agreed that by 1980, the socio-political contribution of Pentecostals-Charismatics was still insufficient, because their prophetic voice against Dr. President Kenneth David Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (UNIP) government's 'evil' socio-political structures was still largely absent. However, during the late 1980s, some Neo-Pentecostals started to develop more co-ordinated approaches towards Social Pentecostalism.

All interviewees described how by the early 1990s, Pentecostals-Charismatics moved quickly from polarised spirituality to active socio-political engagement, because it became clear that President Kaunda's Marxist-Leninism was losing its rhetorical impact. Pentecostals-Charismatics felt they had no choice but to publicly challenge Kaunda's authoritarian version of nationalism which was intolerant of pluralism as well as his heavy-handed tactics. This action taken by Pentecostals-Charismatics was a variation of the popular demand for fundamental human rights, freedom of expression and liberation from the oppressive social and political structures that had for decades characterised President Kaunda's rule.[458] After the 1991 multi-party elections, Pentecostalism had suddenly become Social Pentecostalism and was viewed as an agent of socio-political and economic change. It was not surprising that

[458] Nearly all Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Zambia played a role in the removal of Dr. Kaunda and his UNIP government.

many of Neo-Pentecostals became powerful players in the revitalisation of civic society.[459] More recently, the contribution of Neo-Pentecostals to the socio-political sphere in Zambia has become more significant, because they have developed political theologies that have helped them to be well positioned and resourced to become a powerful voice for fourteen million plus Zambians. As of today, Social Pentecostalism is an integral and vital component of the socio-political power and authority in Zambia. Since President Chiluba's constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation,' in 1991, nearly all Pentecostal-Charismatic churches reflect a distinctly socio-political theology as the whole population now has exposure to the discourse of being 'born again' in Jesus Christ and to the notion of combating the influence of Satan in the life of the whole nation.[460]

7.2. Theological Reflection: Social Pentecostalism

Eighty-five percent of interviewees acknowledged a lack of clarity or precision in Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics social activism principles. Fifteen percent of interviewees argued that only Dr. Nevers Mumba has managed to at least outline some theological social activism principles that clear and precise. Dr. Mumba suggests that Pentecostal-Charismatic theological reflection should involve not just a focus on otherworldly or spiritual dimensions but should ask the difficult questions of what the Christian Gospel means for ordinary Zambians. In his view, to engage in theology yet ignore the dehumanising conditions of poverty in Zambia, involves what Calvin called 'nefarious perfidy,'[461] because this not only constitutes a betrayal of the Gospel itself, but also the freedom of God's people. In the 1990s,

[459] See Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, 118, 192-196.
[460] David M. Gordon, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012), 197.
[461] See John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Faith*, ed. John T. McNeil, trans. Ford L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 31.

the style of socio-political posture adopted by Dr. Mumba and other Pentecostal-Charismatic leaders simply involved ties with President Chiluba and his Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) party and government officials, under the pretext of reforming the social and political structures and processes. Festoon describes this type of socio-political posture as "'time serving,' the art of keeping one's self close to political power regardless of ideology or principles in order to receive some benefits."[462] Unfortunately, the late President Chiluba and the MMD government managed to politicise Pentecostalism and used it as a decisive campaign tool whereby, President Chiluba went as far as appealing to Pentecostals-Charismatics as his major constituency.[463]

This action by President Chiluba amounted to what Rotberg calls, 'political corruption.'[464] Having realised that Chiluba and his MMD government were using Pentecostalism to gain political advantage, Dr. Mumba started creating some new modes of thinking concerning the socio-political structural arrangements, and these coincided with the changing political order in Zambia.[465] Three-fifths of interviewees regard Dr. Mumba as the most prominent contemporary Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic leader who has promoted Social Pentecostalism since the early 1990s. However, two-fifths (39%) of interviewees disagree with Dr. Mumba's direct involvement in active partisan politics. In contrast, interviewee ZMP010 argued that "the current socio-political and economic problems in Zambia need to be confronted through direct political involvement, and that poverty in Zambia is born out of

[462] Paul Freston, "Popular Protestants in Brazilian Politics: A Novel Turn in Sect-State Relations," *Social Compass*, vol. 41, no. 4 (2008): 537-570.
[463] See Austin M. Cheyeka, "The Concept of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation,'" *African Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. 44 (2000): 169-184.
[464] Robert I. Rotberg, *Corruption, Global Security and World Order* (Cambridge: World Peace Foundation, 2009), 344.
[465] See Walton Johnson, "Africanisation of a Mission Church: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Zambia," in *African Christianity*, eds. George C. Bond, Walton Johnson and Sheila S. Walker (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 89-107.

politicians' greed as there are many imbalances in the distribution of national resources whereby some have much while others nothing."[466] Thus, it is reasonable to assume that Dr. Mumba's direct involvement in active partisan politics came about through the contexts of 'justice deprived, justice demanded.' All one hundred and fifteen interviewees alleged that Pentecostalism in Zambia has become politically and religiously powerful as a force to be reckoned with. During the interview conducted with Dr. Mumba,[467] whilst quoting Proverbs 28:5 and 29:7, he stated that as a Pentecostal believer and church leader, there was no virtue to be found in his remaining aloof as far as political involvement in Zambian politics was concerned, stating that if indigenous Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians were in power, they could do a great deal of good for the Zambian people. Politics and community-shaping forms part of Dr. Mumba's Christian obedience which is viewed in the light of the cross.[468]

It is important to note that what Dr. Mumba seeks in his political ministry is winning politicians as well as the Zambian public to Jesus Christ (Jas. 2:14-16), which would inevitably result in the transformation of the overall socio-political sphere in Zambia. It is not surprising that Dr. Mumba uses socio-political action reflection methods[469] to imply an inductive approach to the Scriptures to support his involvement and that of others such as Dr. Pule in Zambian politics. Seventy-five percent of interviewees claimed that Dr. Mumba's

[466] Interviewee ZMP010, oral interview with author, November 14, 2014. Interviewee ZMP003 is longstanding associate pastor to Dr. Mumba.
[467] Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba, interviewee with author, November 14, 2013.
[468] See John W. Gladwin, *God's People in God's World: Biblical Motives for Social Involvement* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1979), 121.
[469] According to Mathew Clark, "The Bible is understood primarily by most Pentecostals and Charismatics as a tool, approached, examined and utilised in a large quest, viz the search for more 'just' socio-political order and the main Pentecostal-Charismatic criticism of the socio-political hermeneutic is that it assigns a secondary (inductive) role to Scripture, while at the same time it appears that uncritical primacy is given a single ideological approach. However, Pentecostalism can also be cautioned by the ideological particularism and simplism of the political theologies and not reduce its own understanding of Christianity to an affirmation of conservative ideologies." See Mathew S. Clark, An Investigation into the Nature of a Viable Pentecostal Hermeneutic (PhD diss., University of South Africa, 1997), 290.

biblical worldviews and his Pentecostal beliefs have always influenced Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics' socio-political theological orientation. Meanwhile twenty-five percent of interviewees argued that although Dr. Mumba has always affirmed the authority of God's Word and his socio-political orientations have always been Bible-centred, he has failed to recognise the contextual nature of both economic and political structures in Zambia. Indeed, there is no single political philosophy in the Bible text, as is apparent in the substantial differences between the Old and New Testaments. One way of getting past this difficulty is to recognise that religion and politics operate in different dimensions and are not thereby, mutually exclusive domains.[470] Interviewees claimed that although Social Pentecostalism in Zambia is in its infancy, Pentecostal political theology is at best characterised as an attempt to maintain the status quo. To disregard the claim that current political contextual theology of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics does not fully reflect the biblical pattern would be unhelpful.

Therefore, as part of a section intended to focus on application, the proposal will be to explore the most appropriate social activism principles and parameters consistent with the landscape of Social Pentecostalism. Several principles that should prove helpful in framing how Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics go about social and political activism are outlined as follows:

1. Pentecostal-Charismatics need to resist the temptation to overstretch their capabilities and resources, which involves avoiding the temptation to accomplish all plans and visions immediately and concurrently. Discernment is needed for the church to seek

[470] See Shane Clifton and Neil Ormerod, "Pentecostals and Politics," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2007): 229-244.

divine guidance and to respond intuitively. The focus should be on addressing issues, challenges and concerns that are already within scope as well as of spiritual significance; and this needs to be a responsive measure.

2. Pentecostal-Charismatics should include principles of participation, empowerment, equality of opportunity, and training and mentorship in their programmes.
3. Social and political activism by Pentecostal-Charismatics should take many forms, including the obvious, yet frequently overlooked step of joining and supporting political parties and movements.
4. Pentecostal-Charismatics' social and political activism should include a prophetic role speaking into the nation and communities. Using a prophetic voice approach, Pentecostals-Charismatics will be able to bring stability to society when politicians challenge social and political institutions that matter to people.

Following discussions with scholars such as Clark,[471] it became apparent that it would be possible to sketch out certain parameters within a Pentecostal-Charismatic approach to political contextual theologies consistent with Social Pentecostalism, under the condition that are capable of being articulated without contradicting the basic tenets of the experience and doctrines that characterise Zambian Pentecostalism.

(a) Biblical Worldview

With a view to espousing a Bible-centred socio-political orientation, contemporary Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatics should look to the biblical narrative. Pentecostal-Charismatic

[471] Clark notes that "the concern for the twentieth century Christianity to be 'relevant' has found its strongest theological expression during the last decades in concentrating on the context within which theology is done and within the ecumenical circles in particular. This has often been expressed in a concern for the socio-political context and for the effect of theologising on the context and until fairly recently, such concern was scarcely felt among First World Pentecostals. However, in the last few decades, it has become an issue particularly in Latin America, South Africa and Sub-Saharan African Pentecostal-Charismatic churches." See Clark, An Investigation," 61.

approach to the Bible and theology is crucial to their social-political ministry and the critique they offer to contemporary Zambian socio-political conditions. In following a bible-centred framework, Pentecostal-Charismatics will be informed, directed and shaped by the witness of the Bible. As Clark clarifies:

> The implications are that the biblical worldview operate in Pentecostal-Charismatic kerygma as a foil to the values, morals and social agenda of modern secular society, confronting it before hoping to find any point of contact and that the Bible should function not merely as a source of doctrine but as a handbook for Pentecostal-Charismatic experience of God and a blueprint for co-working with him.[472]

In practice, Clark's clarification implies that Pentecostals-Charismatics should always determine their socio-political engagement based on the patterns of God's dealings with humankind. The example and experiences of the apostles and Old Testament prophets and prophetesses can be regarded as an example of a bible-centred framework for Pentecostal-Charismatic socio-political involvement in Zambia.

(b) Ministry in the Power of the Holy Spirit

The mission of the Church is to continue the ministry of Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit, then its proclamation is as much social, political as it is individual.[473] Therefore, it is appropriate for Pentecostals-Charismatics to comprehend and appreciate that Baptism in the Holy Spirit entails the transformation of individuals and the empowering for societal change. As Rodríquenz and Waldrop argue:

> The Pentecostal-Charismatic community, empowered by the Holy Spirit, is called to be an 'alternative society,' a countercultural society and representatives of a 'new

[472] See Mathew S. Clark, "Questioning Every Consensus," *AJPS*, vol. 5, no.1 (2002): 73-86; idem, The Relationship Between Christianity-Society: A Study in Jüegen Moltmann from a Pentecostal Perspective (PhD diss., University of South Africa, 1989), 5-6.
[473] Johnson writes that "Luke-Acts must…be read as a single story and that Luke saw the work of the Holy Spirit as the replication in the lives of the believers of the Messianic pattern enacted first by Jesus Christ." See Luke T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke: Sacra Pagina Series*, Volume 3 (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 4.

> humanity' in Christ Jesus. As a church filled with the Holy Spirit, we have the 'daily task' of publicly identifying with the needs of society.[474]

As the who have subjected themselves to the directing and leading of the Holy Spirit, Pentecostals-Charismatics need to recognise that they are capable of operating in the new and effective ways in the socio-political sphere because the Spirit can lead them to achieve justice and liberty for the people of Zambia. As Keller explains:

> Only the Church can minister to the whole person. Only the Gospel understands that sin has ruined us both individually and socially. We cannot be viewed individually (as Capitalists do) or collectively (as the Communists do), but related to God; only Christians, armed with the Word and the Holy Spirit, planning and working to spread the kingdom and righteousness of Christ can transform a nation, a neighbourhood and broken hearts.[475]

(c) Socio-Political Reforms Through the Preaching of the Full Gospel and Prophetic Voice Approach

Socially and politically tailored messages can have a positive impact on the socio-political sphere. By including the social and political dimensions within the proclamation of the Full Gospel as Bosch argues, "Pentecostals-Charismatics will be able to launch an all-out attack on the socio-political evils in the nations."[476] Just as the prophets and prophetesses did in the Old Testament, Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics need to pursue socio-political change through the preaching of the Full Gospel. As Eicrodt clarifies:

> The Old Testament prophets and prophetesses had no strong organisational backing, nor were they armed with solid political power to give emphasis to their words. If they were to make themselves heard in this situation, they needed a spiritual power and inner conviction which raise the individual above the mass and gave him or her complete independence. Here, among the prophets and prophetesses, we meet men and women who … can move through life in majestic solitude … it is their strong

[474] See Dario A. L. Rodríguez and Richard E. Waldrop, "The God of Life and the Spirit of Life: The Social and Political Dimension of Life in the Spirit," *Studies in the World Christianity*, vol. 17 (January 1, 2011): 2-14.
[475] See Timothy Keller, *Ministries of Mercy: The Call to the Jericho Road*, 2nd edn. (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R, 1997), 26.
[476] Bosch argues that "Jesus Christ's preaching of, and action towards God's Kingdom launches attack on evil in all its manifestations." See David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991), 32.

> marked individuality, indeed, which made them for us the most clearly defined personalities of ancient Israel and gives all their preaching a stamp of genuineness and inimitable originality. Even where traditional patterns and systems of concepts were employed, everything was molten in the fire of a personal experience of God and emerged freshly minted … it is their own submission to the existential demands of God that they were made free from all human ties.[477]

In the Zambian context, there has been a positive ethical impact whenever Dr. Mumba's preaching included the proclamation of the religious and political values of Christianity, including the need for the pursuit of faith, hope and love, which had helped to stimulate personal and political transformation especially in the late 1990s. His has been this kind of preaching that will result in the personal priorities of politicians gradually being reframed and in the development of an inclination to seek good and honour the truth. The prophetic voice approach is what the prophets and prophetesses of the Hebrew Scriptures used when they denounced the abuse of political power and called on kings and queens to respect God's supreme authority (1 Kings 18). According to Long:

> Most of Weber's interpreters have misunderstood his analysis of prophetic voice, for they have considered 'prophecies' primarily as political. Therefore, they have underestimated the theological meaning of 'prophecy' as a resource for cultural and societal change. 'Prophets' in this context are actors who understand their task of proclaiming a divine message in the hope of submitting all human life to a transcendent system of meaning.[478]

By offering fair, consistent and ethical counsel to all Zambian politicians, Pentecostals-Charismatics will be to open wider perspectives and offer constructive solutions to the current socio-political issues and challenges.

---

[477] See Walther Eichrodt, *Old Testament Theology*, vol. 1, trans. J. A. Baker (London: SCM Press, 1961), 342-343.

[478] See T. E. Long, "A Theology of Prophetic Religion and Politics," in *The Politics of Religion and Social Change: Religion and Political Order*, vol. 2, eds. Anson Shupe and Jeffrey Hadden (New York: Paragon House, 1988), 3-17.

7.3. Introduction of the Prosperity Gospel in Zambia

The Prosperity Gospel, according to Roberts, "rests upon an understanding of God's causal relationship to everyday life and this 'divine economy' is based on the belief that God wants to provide his people with material prosperity."[479] Every interviewee revealed that the prosperity gospel came to Zambia through international networks and media technologies. Indeed, since the 1990s, the prosperity gospel has been publicised through national television the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), North American literature and evangelical gospel campaigns. Interviewees claimed that the Prosperity Gospel is not original to all the three traditions of Pentecostalism in Zambia. It is only the Neo-Pentecostals are the ones who have adopted the American style of prosperity messages and approaches. About the Prosperity Gospel, all interviewees revealed that great impetus this belief which were already part of indigenous Christianity was given when various American preachers visited Zambia especially in the 1990s.

For this reason, when American Pentecostal Bible teachers and scholars who were the proponents of the Prosperity Gospel came to Zambia, they found a fertile ground prepared by the African traditional worldview that resonated with their own preaching. One should not be surprised that the Neo-Pentecostal streams and prosperity teachers in Zambia are interested in teaching on faith and prosperity considering that prosperity among Zambians has taken on broad connotations. Interviewees observed that Neo-Pentecostal faith and prosperity preachers emphasise that health and wealth are the rights of believers in Christ which need to be appropriated by faith in and confession of God's Word. It is important to point out that

[479] Original quote found in Mumford, "Prosperity Gospel in African American Prophetic Preaching," *Review and Expositor*, vol 109 (2012): 356-385.

since its arrival in Zambia, Christianity was firmly in the grip of an austere mentality where 'poverty is godliness,' bequeathed by Western missionary churches. Wealth, riches and abundance were believed and taught to be at variance with true Christian spirituality and therefore considered worldly. Zambian classical Pentecostal Christians were opposed to any form of worldliness, expressed in terms of fashion, music or material possessions such as flashy cars. Their members were taught to be more heavenly-minded than earthly-minded. Neo-Pentecostal prosperity preachers emerged since the 1990s spreading their message like wildfire around the nation. This development has changed ministerial ethics and values from selfless missionary service espoused by classical Pentecostals, to commercial ones. All the interviewees alleged that the faith and prosperity message has completely displaced the message of the kingdom in most pulpits. The focus on the imminent return of Christ has been diminished by a growing emphasis on a celebration of the Holy Spirit and on blessings, usually material and financial in nature. Pneumatological experience, that once led to social ostracism among Neo-Pentecostals now has become the ticket to health, prosperity and general well-being. In the fluid 'Spirit' oriented culture of Zambia, Neo-Pentecostal faith and prosperity preachers have drawn from a secular vocabulary of self-help and individualism.

More than eighty percent of interviewees alleged that the aspirations of most Zambian Neo-Pentecostal faith and prosperity preachers is being expressed in theological terms in a Prosperity Gospel that endorsed the acquisition of wealth and conspicuous consumption as a sign of God's blessing. According to Maxwell, the Prosperity Gospel doctrine explains poverty and misfortune in terms of a lack of faith and generosity, rather than through the inequalities created by capitalism.[480] All the interviewees agreed that almost all

[480] Maxwell, *African Gifts of the Spirit*, 154.

contemporary Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches have embraced the Prosperity Gospel, while the holiness strand in classical denominations still espouse a socially humble worldview and are suspicious of material success.

7.4. Theological Reflection: The Prosperity Gospel

More than half of the interviewees alleged that this general unbalanced theology and unfaithful interpretation of Bible texts used to support the teachings on faith and prosperity have led to the extortion of resources from followers and a sense of disappointment following non-fulfilment of promises of financial success made to givers and donors. It was not surprising that all interviewees that most Neo-Pentecostal faith and prosperity preacherns repeatedly stress that money was necessarily if they were to maintain and expand the movement's numerous ministries and this has brought unforeseen problems. Such ecclesiastical issues raised include tales and rumours of significant immorality in most Neo-Pentecostal churches, because the blessing of money, in the sense of having financial security, has been turned into the 'gospel of money,' and as a result the churches are full of leaders made rich by their members, who are in the opinion of these interviewees not properly saved believers, let alone divinely called to ministry, but rather are exploitative careerists. These people have been promoted despite private lives that fall far short of Pentecostal-Charismatic or broader Christian expectations and standards for those in ministry.

A further concern was highlighted by more than half of interviewees who observe how hierarchy with a focus bent on gaining wealth and power has replaced the shared sense of

equality and intimacy that characterised early Neo-Pentecostal gatherings where everyone was the same in the eyes of all the people and of God. It is vital for the health of Neo-Pentecostal churches, the wellbeing and faith of their members, as well as for the sake of church unity and sustaining the positive impacts that the broader Pentecostal-Charismatic movement has had on the nation, that faith and prosperity preachers acknowledge that there is a difference between biblical preaching on money and finances, and the distorted forms of prosperity theology which lead to the damaging situations described. There is an exegetically sound understanding of the biblical relationship between the blessing of God and humans prospering as a result.

Fee ascertains that in the Hebrew Scriptures "one regularly finds prosperity (especially lands and children) as evidence of God's favour," but under the proviso that, "one walks in accordance with God's law… [where] to be righteous meant that one cared for, or pleaded the cause of, the poor and the oppressed." Turning to the New Testament, "poverty *per se* is not being glorified, nor is wealth condemned," and the same justice theme for the poor is found.[481] God is seen to bless the just including in material ways. Thus well-meaning Neo-Pentecostal faith and prosperity preachers should be concerned about hermeneutical laxity in widespread prosperity teaching and the ethical and pastoral abuses arising from the prosperity theology, rather than dispensing entirely with the notion of prospering and the aspects of the message geared towards liberating people from poverty and elevating them within the socio-economic ladder of Zambian society.

[481] Fee, *The Disease of the Health and Wealth Gospels*, 40-43.

7.5. Chapter Conclusion

One noticeable feature of the Zambian Neo-Pentecostal Churches has been their change in character across the decades from holiness and evangelistic tradition of the 1980s to the faith and prosperity ministry of the 2000s. Neo-Pentecostal Churches had become engaged in the public sphere by early 1990s. A further development for the Neo-Pentecostal stream since the 2000s has been the prominence of the prophetic and apostolic, which is a combination of teaching from the USA and various strands of previous ministries with an emphasis on miracles, prophecy, prosperity and deliverance. The dynamic excitement felt within Neo-Pentecostal stream has included the sense of release from Classical emphasis on the avoidance of worldliness and possessions. Although liberating, an unhelpful sideeffect of this freedom has been the opportunistic selling of the American prosperity gospel, with some advocates particularly exploitative of the vulnerable poor, requiring a deliberate rebalance to the biblical understanding of God's blessing experienced as Christians together combat poverty and injustice among and around them.

In the next chapter the study will summarise the main findings of this study.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

8.0. Introduction

This chapter will outline the main findings of this study regarding the history of Zambian Pentecostalism and its ethos. A perspective of the future will also be presented.

8.1. Summary of this Research Study

The historical context of the emergent Pentecostalism in Zambia has been examined in this study. The cultural, sociological, economic, political and theological context within Zambia from the pre-independence period (1940s) has been considered to ascertain the degree of influence each period had upon the emergent Pentecostal-Charismatic movement.

It has been discovered that although Zambian Pentecostalism emerged within the continuity of the fruit of the European Christian missionary enterprise, it was the significant input of Joel Chidzakazi Phiri, Alice Lenshina, Winston David Broomes, Jack and Winsome Muggleton and Nevers Sekwila Mumba that helped shape Zambian Pentecostalism. The role of these relatively known key players in Zambian Pentecostalism was crucial in the establishing of Zambia's Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Pentecostalism, Classical Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism. This study has sought to redress misunderstandings in describing and analysing the pivotal role played by Phiri, Lenshina, Broomes, Jack and Winsome Muggleton and Mumba in the development and emergence of Pentecostalism in Zambia. These figures should be given due recognition for their key roles in formulating

contextual theology which has proven its potential as an influential force on Pentecostalism inside Zambia. Thus, the most significant aspect of this study has been to ascertain the key role played by these leaders in the chain of events that led to formation of Prophetic and Pentecostal-type churches, the Classical Pentecostal churches and Neo-Pentecostal churches in the nation. Prophetess Lenshina was a key leading figure who helped shape the localised form of Pentecostalism especially in the later 1940s through to the 1970s. Equally, Phiri was the emblematic preacher through whom the Zambian classical Pentecostalism evolved and developed. The Muggletons and Broomes played leading roles in promoting key classical Pentecostal theologies and messages. While Dr. Mumba is the emblematic indigenous Zambian preacher through whom the 1980s and 1990s Pentecostal-Charismatic revival evolved and developed.

The interviewees were forthcoming in helping to provide a more detailed evidence-based understanding of the theological development of the streams of Pentecostalism in Zambia. The varying perspectives of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches demonstrate a significant diversity and non-uniformity in doctrine, belief, ethos and praxis. The emergence of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia had a strong indigenous flavour. The theologies and practices of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were seen to have much in common with the ethos of the mix of global Pentecostal movements. Nevertheless, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were rooted for most part in theology and practice gratifying the traditional worldview of the Zambian population, where the understanding of the 'spirit world' formed one of the ideological bases of these churches. Having uncovered a new and deeper perspective about the importance and indigenous nature of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches through the interviews and having noted that their emergence was prior to the establishment of Classical Pentecostalism in Zambia, it

might be reasonable to conclude that theological influence of the former would impact on the latter. Having examined interviewee data on the Classical stream in Zambia, it becomes apparent that in their theological distinctives, the Classic Pentecostal churches in Zambia remain closely within the founding theology of the movement emerging out of the USA, underscoring the importance of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as a secondary experience, with initial evidence of speaking in tongues. The theological understanding of the person and work of Jesus Christ frames the Classical Pentecostals' experiences, whom they consider as Saviour, Baptiser in the Holy Spirit, Healer and Coming King. Eschatology is Classical anticipating Christ's return and shunning worldly temptations. Holiness and sanctification emphases teach that evil appetites can be overcome moving towards perfection through the work of the Holy Spirit.

Although no longer particularly distinctive of Classical churches within Pentecostalism, divine healing is also particularly important, and in its African context practiced more rigourously with encouragement to dispense with medications, reminiscent of the heyday of emergent Classical Pentecostalism and some of its current streams. In conclusion, Zambian Classical Pentecostalism is more solidly Classical in theology than many denominations of the same stream in the west. What is most likely to have come through into Classical Pentecostalism from the Prophetic stream in Zambia is the excitement about healing ministry and prophecy, and expectation of its effectiveness.

8.2. Further Topics for Research

This study has served to lay a foundation and act as a catalyst for further research in the study of Zambian and African Pentecostal-Charismatic history and contemporary Pentecostal-Charismatic issues. Further research is necessary to better understand the early beginnings and development of Zambian Pentecostalism. There is need to carry out detailed accounts of the leading figures within Zambian Pentecostalism during the broader period (1940s-2010s) that this study has identified. The teachings of prophetess Lenshina are of special importance, for an appreciation the early role that she played in the development of Pentecostalism in Zambia. There is also room for a deeper understanding of the variety of Neo-Pentecostal teachings emerging from the spectrum of ministers and preachers. Finally, as the lens of the world gazes into a nation that has recognised and declared itself as a Christian nation, there is need for more Zambian researchers to bring their perspective, in similar or diverse ways to this research, back to the world. Research into Zambian Christianity is young, with a host of potential gaps in the literature to choose from, with a sense of urgency at the early emergent Pentecostal end, before the direct oral record of the first-hand witnesses experiencing the events is lost, some of this already having been preserved in narrative interview material gleaned as part of this study.

8.3. Personal Statement

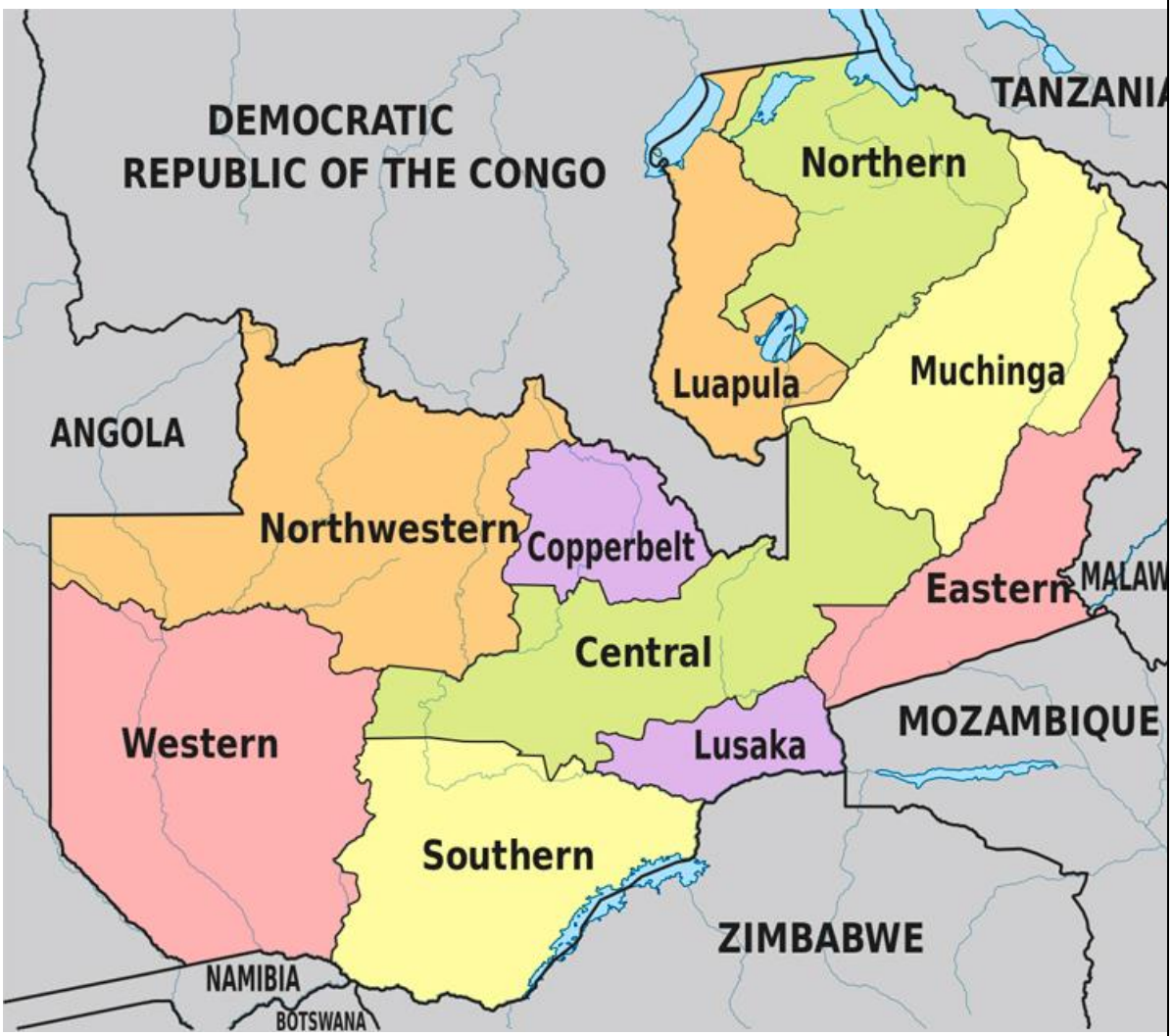
On a personal level, this study has challenged me to become more self-critical and to analytically re-examine my theological roots. This journey of discovery has helped me formulate a more balanced understanding of my heritage but also assess my present theological experience. The greater understanding of early Pentecostal-Charismatic history in Zambia has already helped me in my ministry, particularly in my pastoral duties at

Chilabombwe Moving Church in Zambia. I have also been able to use my research findings in theological teaching and training, especially through my work with Kaniki Bible College in Zambia. This thesis contributes to learning by partly filling a gap in Zambian church history in relation to Pentecostalism that emerged in Zambia in the 1940s.

Appendices

Appendix A: Map of Zambia

Map of Zambia Showing the Ten Provinces



Source: audelhi.wordpress.com

Interview Questions

1. Have you been part of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia?
2. Which Pentecostal-Charismatic group do you associate yourself with?
3. Could you please tell me your stories about Pentecostal experiences, either from your own experience or something you heard from someone else?
4. What have you read, seen or witnessed or told that has been most influential in shaping your perspective on Zambian Pentecostalism?
5. Where there any recognised local Pentecostal-Charismatic groups in Zambia before the arrival of Classical Pentecostal Churches?
6. How many streams of Pentecostalism are there in Zambia?
7. How did each of these three streams of Pentecostalism emerge in the nation of Zambia?
8. In your view, which personalities have been instrumental in shaping the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia?
9. What were the main factors in the growth of the African Independent Churches, Classical Pentecostal Churches and Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia?
10. What are the main theologies and practices of the African Independent Churches, Classical Pentecostal Churches and Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia?
11. In your view, which Pentecostal-Charismatic theologies and practices need to be refined and why?

12. How was the ‘Prosperity Gospel’ and Social Pentecostalism introduced in Zambia?
13. Any parting shots?
14. May I have your permission to quote from your own remarks? If so, what level of anonymity, if any, do you prefer?

Appendix C: Interview Transcript

Interview Transcript

Interviewee: ZMP001 **Born**: 1932 **Age**: 86

Occupation: Retired pastor in a Classical Pentecostal Church in Zambia

Interview Dates: 20.02.2013

Interview Setting: Interview conducted in interviewee's house in Kitwe, Copperbelt

Affiliation with interviewee: Interviewee has been my pastor since 1988. I have spoken with him privately regarding the history of Pentecostalism in Zambia

(Start of Interview)

Interviewer: Have you been part of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in Zambia?

Interviewee: Yes, I have. I have served as a young pastor and as senior pastor in the Assemblies of God church on the Copperbelt.

Interviewer: Will you please tell me your stories about Pentecostal-Charismatic history?

Interviewee: Indeed. Zambian Pentecostalism is not a recent phenomenon but a much older phenomenon whose historical roots can be traced back to the 1940s even though at the time it was not known as such. The Zambian Pentecostal phenomenon emerged within the continuity of the fruit of the European missionary enterprises. However, the earliest local independent Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic groups were not necessarily an extension of foreign groups but were basically indigenous groups. Both the global and regional growth of Pentecostalism has been reflected in the Zambian context, with the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement in this country growing from a handful of local prophetic groups

and classical and Neo-Pentecostal churches and ministries to thousands in a course of over seven decades.

Interviewer: You have revealed that the local Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches are among the other two streams of Pentecostalism in Zambia, is that correct?

Interviewee: That is correct. Actually, the local Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were the forerunner to contemporary Zambian Pentecostalism. The first stream of Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics the older and newer local Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches who have a strong emphasis on prophetic, and these are the closet to Zambian/African traditional religious worldviews. The second stream of Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics are the classical Pentecostals. The third stream of Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics are the Neo-Pentecostals who have some sentiments of classical Pentecostals but also emphasise some form of the Prosperity Gospel and social activism. It is important to stress here that all these streams of Zambian Pentecostals-Charismatics are by no means exhaustive, and in many cases, these three streams intersect and overlap with each other very often. Just as other Pentecostal-Charismatics globally, all the three streams of Zambian Pentecostal Charismatics' main principle and strategy is the Holy Spirit.

Interviewer: Okay, can you please narrate how each of these traditions of Pentecostalism in Zambia emerged?

Interviewee: Yes, I can…

a. The historical roots of Zambian Pentecostalism can be traced back to the pre-denominational period, that is between the late 1930s and 1940s when the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia broke away from the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches. The Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches in Zambia were at least established for more than 10 to even 15 years before classical

Pentecostalism emerged in the nation. The initial emergence of these churches throughout the late 1930s and 1940s remained invisible to many observers because these churches often started in villages and did not have the resources to inscribe themselves on the Zambian religious landscape. The emergence of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches followed two patterns. Firstly, when the Bible was being translated into some local languages such as Bemba, Nyanja and Tonga, a situation of dissatisfaction was being created which promoted an intense search for a deeper dimension of the Christian faith by Zambian believers who were able to read the Bible for themselves. The resultant effect was the spontaneous emergence of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. Secondly, during the 1930s and 1940s most Zambians aspiration for salvation in which health, prosperity, fertility, security and equilibrium within the cosmos was not being met in the Protestant Mainstream Mission Churches and the Roman Catholic Churches as a consequence, Zambia witnessed the emergence especially in the North-East of Zambia of local Prophetic groups such as the Nchimi, Mutumwa and Lumpa. These three groups were officially registered as Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches in 1972.

b. The Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia owe their origins to the missionary activities of the early international classical Pentecostal missionaries such as Joel Chidzakazi Phiri, Jack and Winsome Muggleton and David Winston Broomes who came to Zambia to spread the classical Pentecostal message. It was the enduring fruit of these missionaries that led to the establishment of contemporary Classical Pentecostal Churches such as the Apostolic Faith Church in Zambia (AFZ), the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Zambia (PAOGZ), the Apostolic Faith Mission

in Zambia (AFMZ), the Full Gospel Church (Church of God) and the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Zambia (PHCZ).

c. The Neo-Pentecostal Churches are newer churches and newer indigenous ministries that emerged between 1980s and 2000s which were nevertheless deeply connected with other churches in other nations such as the United States of America, Canada, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Ghana. The Neo-Pentecostal Churches were the products of the national wide 1970 Pentecostal-Charismatic Revival as leaders of these churches were involved in one way or the other in the Classical Pentecostal Churches Christian leadership at different levels and various organisations. The most prominent Neo-Pentecostal Churches that emerged during this period were Dr. Nevers Mumb-led Victory Bible Church, Bishop Joseph Imakando-led Bread of Life Church International, Joseph Lilema and Gideon Tembo-led Word of Life Church International and Grace Ministries Missions International which became Zambia's mega churches.

Interviewer: Can you identify some of the prominent leaders and key players from all the three traditions of Zambia Pentecostalism?

Interviewee: Yes, I can…

a. In my view, Prophetess Alice Lenshina played a significant role in promoting the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches between 1950s and 1970s.
b. Joel Chadzakazi Phiri was instrumental in equipping pastors and elders who propagated the classical Pentecostal message nationwide.
c. Jack and Winsome Muggleton were the first to promote classical Pentecostalism among the elite expatriates and young educated Zambians
d. David Winston Broomes was instrumental in promoting the classical Pentecostal message in churches, schools, colleges and universities.

e. Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba was and is still the emblematic leader through whom the 1980s and 1990s Neo-Pentecostal revival evolved and developed.

Interviewer: I see from the information that it was these leaders who that helped in one way or the other the shape of Zambian Pentecostalism. Now, could give some details on the important roles that these leaders played in shape Pentecostalism in Zambia?

Interviewee: Yes, I can…

a. Prophetess Alice Lenshina: The prophetess was a fiery preacher and charismatic leader who championed the renunciation of evil traditional beliefs and practices, the destruction of idols and fetishes and advocated both physical and spiritual healing through prayer. It was her who boosted the image, message and practices of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches of the use of spiritual instruments and gifts in dealing with life issues. This marked the elementary development of the belief of spiritual and physical healing, a core teaching of the modern Zambian Pentecostal movement and the opposition to both traditional and western medicine by mostly classical Pentecostals.

b. Joel Chidzakazi Phiri: The classical Pentecostal message is traceable to Phiri whose ministry work typifies the classical Pentecostal Christianity in Zambia. Phiri also played a major role in raising the next generation of Pentecostals in the 1950s and 1960s. He successfully planted hundreds of Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) churches in Mufulira, Kitwe, Ndola and other towns and rural centres throughout Zambia.

c. Jack and Winsome Muggleton: Both Jack and Winsome were the most prominent preachers among the elite expatriates as well as the young educated Zambians. They embarked on training of local Zambian Pentecostals leaders who later

continued promoting the Pentecostal message throughout the nation. It was these two who played a leading role in the establishment of Classical Pentecostal Churches throughout Zambia.

d. Winston David Broomes: He promoted the exegetical method in the early years of Pentecostalism in Zambia. With the help of his wife Gloria, they insisted on following the same historical-grammatical methods as other Evangelicals, resisting an over-emphasis on the cultural specificity of biblical languages and logic. Their contribution to the formation of some of classical Pentecostal theologies throughout the 1970s was massive. As a Bible teacher, David successfully managed to promote the exegetical methods in most Assemblies of God Classical Pentecostal Churches.

e. Dr. Nevers Sekwila Mumba: When cross-referencing the number of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic theologians who have adopted the theological presupposition, Dr. Mumba is far ahead of the rest. It was and is through his teaching that Zambian Pentecostalism has managed to theologically point to the restoration of a biblical and apostolic life and the proclamation of the 'Full Gospel' to the nation of Zambia.

Interviewer: From what you have just revealed, is Dr. Mumba the person who inspired the 1980s and 1990s Pentecostal-Charismatic revival in Zambia, correct?

Interviewee: That is right. It was in the hands of the emblematic figure Dr. Mumba that the 1980s and 1990s 'planned' Pentecostal-Charismatic brand of revivalism evolved and developed. It was Dr. Mumba who orchestrated the national wide 1980 and 1990 revival in Zambia.

It was Mumba who encouraged Zambian preachers to evangelise their own people and he was very successful at translating the 'Great Commission' into revival preaching, which helped in creating a very powerful revivalism momentum in the 1980s and 1990s

throughout Zambia. Mumba was the first-ever local Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic leader to run a very successful radio and television programme called 'Zambia Shall Be Saved.' Mumba was the first Pentecostal-Charismatic Zambian leader to initiate the famous Victory International Conferences which became the 'source' of great spiritual inspiration for thousands of non-Christians and Christians from all Zambian Christian denominations. Equally, Mumba was successful at converting the un-churched people whom he converted during his nationwide evangelistic Gospel campaigns. His emphasis on the use of literature, radio and television helped Zambian Pentecostalism to develop a nationwide ministry and identity.

Interviewer: In your view, what were the main factors that contributed to the growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, Classical and Neo-Pentecostals Churches in Zambia?

Interviewee: Sure. When Classical Pentecostalism arrived in Zambia in the late 1950s, it met the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches which were involved in casting out demons, the interpretation of dreams, the seeing of visions, the healing of the sick through prayer and fasting. The main factors that contributed to the growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were:

a. Short-comings in the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches: The nature of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches and their theologies addressed the realities of the late 1930s, 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. While Zambians were looking for ways of expressing themselves economically, culturally, politically and religiously, unfortunately, the Protestant and Mainstreams Mission Churches were failing to meet the aspirations of most Zambians. On the other hand, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches were successful at dealing with everything that concerned people and dominated the Zambian religion and ritual practices.

b. People's desire to want to relate to the 'Spirit World': In Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, members were taught that God's power surpassed the *nga'ngas* (traditional doctors) power and that believers can access God's power through the Holy Spirit. It was this kind of teaching that attracted many people to join these churches.

c. People's quest for salvation and wholeness: The correlation between people's quest for salvation and wholeness gave basis for understanding why the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches grew. These churches placed emphasis on salvation, healing and wholeness and from their inception, these churches recognised the power of the African worldview and crafted a 'theology of salvation' in response to Zambians' need for spiritual salvation.

The main factors in the growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches were:

a. Urban/Rural Internal Migration ('*Amayendele*'): At the end of colonisation in October 1964, Zambia saw a massive increase in the gross urban/rural internal migration of people from rural areas into mining towns and cities. This free movement of people became one of the main elements in the growth of Classical Pentecostal Churches between 1950s and 1970s. As the population in the mining towns and cities grew, the Classical Pentecostal Churches took full advantage of the situation and gained their ground. The mobility of the young adult became a crucial factor in the spread and growth of Classical Pentecostalism in many communities. As a consequence, this had effects on the Classical Pentecostal Churches geographically.

b. Passionate and Aggressive Evangelism: Evangelism was one of the main contributing factors in the massive growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches especially in the late 1960s and 1970s. Zambians were introduced to open-air

evangelistic gathering in evenings and weekends as alternative to Government-sponsored evening cinema shows which used to bring people and communities together. Attendances and responses to invitations for salvation during these week-long evangelistic gathering were overwhelming.

c. Cell or Kinship Circle Meetings: Cell meetings were crucial in the growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches and these meetings became very popular especially in towns and cities along the line of rail. As a way of growing churches, leaders of the Classical Pentecostal churches used members' homes for Bible studies and fellowship. It was through these meetings that some members of households who were not Christians were easily converted to Pentecostalism.

d. Lack of Religious Completion: In the 1960s and 1970s, lack of religious competition favoured the growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches. During this period, the Classical Pentecostal Churches attracted members of the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches because of their straightforward preaching rather than expository preaching and the features of their Church services were formed by the piety of the participants.

e. Classical Pentecostalism's Appeal to Young People: Many young people joined the Classical Pentecostal Churches because they were offered hope on how to excel in life. The teachings on the need to prosper in life gave hope to many young people who were poor and struggling on how to survive and excel in life.

f. Sunday School and Youth Programmes: In the 1960s and 1970s, almost all the Classical Pentecostal Churches benefited from Sunday school and Youth programmes that they implemented. The Sunday school and Youth programmes were made available to all the Zambia families and the Bible lessons were designed

to appeal to the young and children. As a result, many young people and children were introduced to Classical Pentecostalism.

g. Input by Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations: The most vital development within the Zambian Classical Pentecostal Christianity in the 1960s and 1970s was the coming of the Non-Denominational Evangelical Organisations such as Scripture Union, Christian Unions, Nurses Christian Fellowship, Full Business Men's Fellowship International Zambian Charter and Fellowship of Evangelical Students. All these organisations were influenced by Classical Pentecostal styles and methods of worship.

The Neo-Pentecostal Churches arose in the materialist and instrumental economical enormous collapse that occurred in Zambia during the 1980s and early 1990s. It was during these decades that most Zambians turned to Pentecostalism because they perceived Pentecostalism as being a problem-solving Christian religion. The main factors in the growth of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches were:

a. Theological Tensions in the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches: in the 1980s and 1990s, Pentecostalism in Zambia was spectacular, and it was during these decades that the theological tensions regarding the Holy Spirit in many Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches created an ideal environment for the forceful removal of members of these churches who embraced and inclined themselves towards Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. Thus, many of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches which emerged during these decades started initially as Conservative Evangelical Churches whose shift in theology regarding the Holy Spirit in individual believers caused them to break away from the mainstream churches.

b. Constitutional Declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation': I personally consider President Chiluba's 1991 Constitutional Declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' as the main grounds of the nationwide proliferation of Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Zambia.

c. Planned Revivalism: Planned revivalism was one of the main elements in the growth of Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia. In the 1980s and 1990s, both classical and Neo-Pentecostals were concerned for a primitivism ecclesiology while at the same time, they continued the theology and practice of revivalism. This revivalism was characterised by deliberate efforts towards the orchestration of mass nationwide evangelistic Full Gospel campaigns.

Interviewer: How is the Growth of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, the Classical Pentecostal Churches and the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in the 2000s and 2010s and Thereafter?

Interviewee:

a. By the late 1970s, nearly all the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches had disintegrated. However, these churches can still be found in many parts of Zambia, although today they are not collectively organised. In the 2000s and 2010s, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches are usually carried out by individual prophets and prophetesses.

b. By the end of the 1970s, the Classical Pentecostal Churches grew very steadily. However, it was in the 1980s and 1990s that these churches grow dramatically. It will be incorrect to see the 2000s and 2010s as being entirely one of mass growth of the Classical Pentecostal Churches. National wide numerical growth of these churches has continued, and it is also levelling off.

c. During the late 1990s and 2000s, most Neo-Pentecostal Churches witnessed splits which resulted in stagnation. As a result, new Prophet-led churches have emerged, and the prophets and prophetesses of these churches tend to share a lot of common traits as that of the early Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches of the 1940s and 1960s. Despite these setbacks, active decline for the Neo-Pentecostal Churches is still a way off. The high numbers of converts into these churches in the 2000s and 2010s show that more young people, adults and influential people in society are being converted. Thus, the Neo-Pentecostal Churches are not static but are set to build on their 1980s and 1990s' successes.

Interviewer: Particularly in regard to Pentecostalism theologies and practices, what are some of main theologies of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, Classical and Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia?

Interviewee: There are diversities of beliefs and practices across all the three traditions of Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches. All these three traditions do hermeneutics in one way or another and hold the Bible in high esteem as the authoritative word of God for doctrine and practice.

a. The theologies of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches: It is rather difficult to place the early Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches into a confessional framework because their experiences without theology ill-prepared them for a satisfying apologetic. However, theologically, the theologies of these churches is likely to be understood as being a verbal theology. The main theologies of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches include:

I. Salvation: The teaching on salvation was directly connected to the belief among the leaders that the Gospel was not just for spiritual restoration but for the 'total' restoration of the whole human being that is, spirit, soul and

body. Theologically, it was this holistic approach that seek for the transformation of the person from sin, sickness, disease, poverty, oppression, limitations and other forms of bondage (3 John 2).

II. Healing and Wholeness: Healing was considered as a function of the Christian religion. The nature and the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches with this ethos addressed the realities of what was going on in Zambia during this period as most people were aspiring to healing and wholeness. These churches saw their religious vocation in terms of combating the evil forces in the Zambian society where people knew that the spirits could cause physical and spiritual disorder in communities.

III. Sanctification: This was one of the characteristics of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. In these churches, sanctification was often interpreted allegorically to mean separation from the world. The teachers of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches followed the religious idea of sanctification that somehow characterise global Pentecostalism.

IV. Spiritual Vitality and Encounter with the Spirit of God: The distinguishing element of the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches involved the supernatural. These churches believed that human personality was an agent of the spirit for whom the spirit lived, worked and acted. Therefore, there was a relationship, involvement and interaction between humans and spirits which could be appealed to in dealing with one's perceived enemies and situations. The dimension of this belief was not emphasised in the Protestant and Mainstream Mission Churches as it was in the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches. In way, the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of

Churches managed to Africanise some of the Christian liturgies without betraying its essential Christian character.

V. Otherworldliness: For the Prophetic and Pentecostal-type of Churches, suffering was accepted as part of the calling of the Christian and making heaven was a local expression for eventually entering God's kingdom (Colossians 3:1-4). Members of these churches were encouraged to be more spiritual and heavenly minded rather than being engulfed in the pursuit of the mundane matters of this present world 'ifyamwisonde' (the things of the world).

b. The Theologies of the Classical Pentecostal Churches: In terms of doctrinal beliefs, Classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia share similar elements with those of American and Canadian Pentecostalism, which influence. The following are the main theologies of the Classical Pentecostal Churches:

I. Baptism in the Holy Spirit and 'Initial' Physical Evidence: Zambian Pentecostal Churches consider the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Filling in the Holy Spirit and endued with the Holy Spirit as the same as being Spirit-baptism. Classical Pentecostals insist that the baptism in the Holy Spirit is manifested by speaking with other tongues as the 'initial' and 'physical' evidence. They identify speaking in other tongues in terms of two forms of supernatural speech – the speaking in an existing human language not previously learned by the speaker but understood by the audience and the speaking in an unknown heavenly tongue that requires interpretation to be fully understood.

II. Salvation (New Birth) and Discipleship: Classical Pentecostals teach that salvation is a supernatural work of God whereby someone really does

become a new creature. Members are taught that Jesus Christ can be personally encountered as Saviour and Lord of the sincerely repentant person, resulting in regeneration of a transformed life. Within the Classical Churches, preaching and hermeneutic revolve mainly around the necessity of personal salvation or 'born again' experience and having a personal relationship with Jesus Christ. In nearly all the Classical Pentecostal Churches, salvation is purportedly linked to discipleship. Classical Pentecostals teach salvation by grace that includes the discipleship message.

III. Sanctification and Holiness: Sanctification and Holiness have been the Classical Pentecostals' strongest theologies. They insist on the ongoing process of sanctification with a goal of Christian perfection. For Classical Pentecostals, to be sanctified is simply God's act of purification and cleansing from sin which involves not only an intellectual, moral and physical conversion but also a distancing of oneself from the world and its pollutants. The notion of sanctification is closely intertwined with the emphasis on the original experience of conversion and deliverance. It also refers to an immediate or repeated sense of release from sin, addiction, sickness, demonic possession and other oppressive experiences.

IV. Divine Healing: Divine healing is central to Zambian Classical Pentecostals' doctrine and space is always provided for it in every church service. Classical Pentecostals always emphasises divine healing as a major component of the salvation purchased by Jesus' death and resurrection. Christ as Healer is a cornerstone belief of all the Classical Pentecostal Churches because Scripture teaches that Jesus is the Healer. This belief in divine healing and the atonement is clearly demonstrated when the sick are

encouraged to throw away any forms of medicine so that they could act in faith and rely totally on Jesus the Healer alone for their healing.

V. Eschatology and Evangelism: In nearly all the Classical Pentecostal Churches, the anticipation of Jesus' Second imminent return express itself in the classical dispensational eschatology. This strong belief in the classical dispensational eschatology has led to an emphasis on, and a deep sense of urgency in evangelism and mission as key to facilitating the Second coming of Christ (Matthew 24:14) and the rapture of the Church (1 Thessalonians 4:13-16). Evangelism for Classical Pentecostals is concerned with discipling people in Christ so that they can be formed into authentic disciples of Jesus Christ.

c. The Theologies and Practices of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches: The basic tenets of faith of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia are like those of the Classical Pentecostal Churches. As I have already stated, many of the Neo-Pentecostals Churches came into existence as splinter groups from Classical Pentecostal Churches. To some extent, teachings and writings from America and Canada have influenced the liturgical, doctrinal and spiritual growth of the Neo-Pentecostal movement in Zambia, demonstrating the interaction between local initiatives and global processes in the development and evolution of Zambian Pentecostalism. Here are the many theologies the Neo-Pentecostal Churches:

I. Baptism in the Holy Spirit and Tongues: The baptism in the Holy Spirit is one of the key theologies of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. However, some of these churches do not widely consider speaking with tongues as the only evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit. It is this teaching

by section of Neo-Pentecostals regarding speaking in other tongues as 'initial' evidence that constitutes a minor difference between them and the Classical Pentecostals. Some Neo-Pentecostals perceive speaking in tongues as pointing to the restoration of a biblical and apostolic life, a call to personal holiness and sanctification, the empowerment of the Church, the proclamation of the Full Gospel to the world, endowment for worship and the prophetic confrontation of social, religious, economic, political and cultural injustices for the purpose of liberation, transformation and renewal. In other words, Neo-Pentecostals believe and teach that baptism in the Holy Spirit is God's gift that empowers them for effective Christian service.

II. Holiness and Sanctification: Due to Neo-Pentecostals' flexibility and adoptability, they have made some radical changes with regard to holiness and sanctification, especially their attitude towards lifestyles, dancing, music and dressing. In so doing, the Neo-Pentecostal experience has freed members from rigid rules. Neo-Pentecostals leaders prefer to build their churches on freedom and liberty. As a result, they encourage their members to develop their abilities to discern and choose the right things. Thus, the process of sanctification in most Neo-Pentecostal Churches involves an element of surrendering and learning to control one's moral conduct.

III. Salvation: Neo-Pentecostals soteriology insists that the materiality of salvation is an eschatological reality realised in the present life. Neo-Pentecostals consider salvation as being central to the 'born again' conversion experience. According to Neo-Pentecostals, the spiritual dimension of salvation involves the forgiveness of sins and sanctification while the physical deals with bodily health and financial and material

prosperity. It is not surprising to note that Neo-Pentecostals' emphasis on enjoyment, vitality, financial and material security is becoming the outgrowth of their theology of salvation. This represents continuity with the African primal imagination with its strong emphasis on here and now.

IV. Healing and Deliverance: Neo-Pentecostals' emphasis on healing and exorcism stands in the tradition of both the indigenous and Classical Pentecostalism. Neo-Pentecostals teach that the physical experience of healing is a tangible encounter, impartation and anointing with the Holy Spirit. To them, the work of the Holy Spirit manifest more tangibly the existential tension exposed by the confrontation of sicknesses and healing. Neo-Pentecostals healers always emphasise that divine healing is possible if the sick can claim it by faith. It is therefore, not surprising that some Neo-Pentecostals use various symbolic objects such as anointed oil and anointed water and place emphasis on the human act of faith rather than the divine grace of healing. It is the belief of Neo-Pentecostal healers there are categories of issues and situations which can only by dealt with by believers carrying different levels of anointing. Yet others believe that living a life of regular fasting and praying is one of the prices to be paid for the anointing to minister healing and deliverance. Thus, the anointing which a man or woman of God carries is one of the themes regularly discussed in determining whom to invite to conduct a family or community deliverance programme. Anointing for the Neo-Pentecostals is the marker for how powerful the healer is.

V. Social-Political Activism: Due to its flexibility and adoptability, Neo-Pentecostalism in Zambia has undergone some radical changes regarding

eschatology. Eschatological practices have become redefined in terms of socio-political activism. This change among the Neo-Pentecostals reflect the dramatic transition. For Neo-Pentecostals, healing is a confrontation with spiritual powers, whether perceived as a struggle with oneself, oppressive social and political structures or demonic influences. The nature and doctrinal belief of socio-political activism is demonstrated by the fact that it believed and taught by celebrated leaders such as Dr. Mumba. Dr. Mumba and others define the nature of their socio-political theology in the context of the totality of salvation. For them, salvation offers a comprehensive wholeness in this divided life – it is not only personal but collective. Neo-Pentecostalism thus can be understood as a political spirituality which resists the distinction between the sacred and secular. For Neo-Pentecostals, the 'born again' project of conversion does not just concern the individual but is a political project that subjects the nation to the discourse of being 'born again' in Christ and combating the influence of the devil.

VI. Spiritual Gifts: In Neo-Pentecostal churches emphasis is always placed on the power and supernatural manifestations of the Holy Spirit and attach great importance to the spiritual gifts (1 Corinthians 12:8-10) which they perceive as charismatic features of the renewal. For them, one implication of having the spiritual gifts is that individual Christians are given access to experience the power of the Holy Spirit. Thus, personal power for every believer has become a hallmark of most of Neo-Pentecostals' theology and pastoral endeavour.

VII. Eschatology and Evangelism: The Neo-Pentecostals believe that salvation is to be found in concrete, ordinary, everyday experiences of the Holy Spirit

being poured out on people as social, political, economic and spiritual beings. They deduce that salvation is human participation in saving work of God through Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit. Thus, Neo-Pentecostals have resorted to the use of media technology to reach a large audience for Jesus Christ. The main goal of the Neo-Pentecostals is to evangelise, to win souls and to minister to the various needs of the people. They emphasis the role of exorcism, deliverance ministries and other power encounters involving spiritual warfare, warfare prayer, warfare tongues and intercession, all done with a sense of apocalyptic urgency. These eschatological gifts and activities identify the most significant missiological experiences of the early revivals in the global Pentecostal movement.

VIII. The Prosperity Gospel: The Prosperity Gospel is not original to all the three streams of Pentecostalism in Zambia. Only the Neo-Pentecostals are the ones who have adopted the American style of prosperity messages and approaches. Currently, there are various types and versions of the Prosperity Gospels in Zambia. The underlying message of prosperity preachers is that God rewards his children with material wealth, good health, victory, financial success and faith. People are taught that through faith, positive thinking and action, they can trust God to confer health, wealth and victory. The prosperity preachers see nothing wrong in promoting the prosperity messages that meet people's present needs.

IX. Worship and Ministration: In Neo-Pentecostal Churches emphasis is placed on the importance of renewal, personal and corporate religious experiences. Thus, Neo-Pentecostals believe in exuberant and emotional praise and worship with emphasis on spontaneous worship characterised by singing,

drumming, clapping of hands, praising and dancing and spiritual gifts are very important elements of their praise and worship services. During the services much stress is placed on the validity of experience in walking with God and in most cases, members usually experience the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The services has two main components to it – the ministry of God's Word and the ministration. Usually, it during ministration that the preacher prays for individuals, casting out demons, breaking spiritual yokes, chains, negative covenants and all kinds of curses and anointing the sick with oil for healing. The preacher also leads the congregation in various kinds of prayers and makes prophetic declarations for success, blessings, prosperity, financial breakthroughs and God's favour. The attitude of power and elevated expectations of results demonstrate the role of functionality and utilitarianism in the relationship between the Neo-Pentecostals and the worship of God. This trends have led Neo-Pentecostals to seek for more teaching of new revelations on various Bible doctrines to maintain an air of distinction over others and attract larger fellowships which generate huge financial resources.

Interviewer: Alright, I have noticed that you have included social activism and Prosperity Gospel amongst the theologies especially of the Neo-Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. Now, can you clarify how these theologies were introduced in the nation of Zambia?

Interview: Yes, I can…

a. The Prosperity Gospel came to Zambia in the 1990s through international networks and media technologies. Since the 1990s, the Prosperity Gospel has been published through national television the Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), the North American literature and evangelical gospel campaigns.
b. It was after the 1991 multi-party elections that Pentecostalism became Social Pentecostalism and aa an agent of socio-political and economic change. It is therefore, not surprising that the contribution of Neo-Pentecostals to the socio-political sphere of Zambia has been critical since then and this has led to the development of some form of 'political theologies' which are helping them to be well positioned and sourced. As of today, Social Pentecostalism is an integral and critical component of the socio-political power and authority in Zambia. Since the late second Zambian President Chiluba's constitutional declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' in 1991, nearly all the Neo-Pentecostal and some Classical Pentecostals Churches reflect a distinctly socio-political theology as the whole population is now subjected to the discourse of being 'born again' in Jesus Christ.

Interviewer: Taking the current Zambian socio, economical and political background into consideration, what kind of theologies of socio-political and Prosperity Gospel should contemporary Zambian Pentecostal-Charismatic churches need to consider in order to fully develop these two theologies?

Interviewee: Indeed….

a. Hermeneutically, Zambian prosperity preachers' interpretation of prosperity is affecting believers' obedience and dedication to the 'Great Commission.' Around hermeneutics, the prosperity preachers do not offer a well-balanced approach to Scriptures. There is need for them to more biblical exposition on prosperity that includes financial probity and transparency. Neo-Pentecostal prosperity preachers

need to avoid unbalanced teaching that emphasises extravagance and prominence because poor believers are made to think that because they are poor, then they are out of God's will. Instead of claiming that 'debt' is a 'ruling spirit' the Neo-Pentecostal preachers should instead use God's Word to challenge members to break free from debt because the reality is that members fall into debt for different familial, social and economic reasons. Hence, the devil or evil spirits cannot be blamed for financial choices people make or even the current economic crisis and high rate of unemployment. Furthermore, Neo-Pentecostal prosperity preachers should acknowledge that there is a difference between biblical preaching on money and finances and distorted forms of prosperity theology. Therefore, the concern of well-meaning prosperity preachers should be about the hermeneutical, ethical and pastoral abuses arising from the prosperity theology rather than the entirety of its message as some of it is geared towards liberating people from poverty and lifting them up in the socio-economic ladders of the society.

b. Social Pentecostalism in Zambia is in its infancy, at its best, the Pentecostal political theology is characterised as one that attempts to maintain the status quo. Dr. Nevers Sewila Mumba is the most prominent contemporary theologian who is and has promoted Social Pentecostalism since the early 1990s. It was him who insists that the socio-political and economic problems in Zambia need to be confronted through direct political involvement and that poverty is born out of politicians' greed as there are many imbalances in the distribution of national resources whereby some have much while others nothing. Only Dr. Mumba has managed to at least outline some theological social activism principles that are clear and precise. For Mumba, the Pentecostal-Charismatic theological reflection involves not only focusing on the otherworldly or spiritual dimensions but should

ask the difficult questions of what the Christian Gospel mean for ordinary Zambians. In order to espouse Bible-centred socio-political orientation, Pentecostals should look to the biblical narrative. They should follow the bible-centred framework. The mission of the Church is to continue the ministry of Jesus in the power of the Holy Spirit which entails the transformation of individuals and the empowering for societal change. Social-political reforms should be brought about through the preaching of the Full Gospel and Prophetic voice approach.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for your time.

Interviewee: You are most welcome.

Bibliography

Afrong, A. "*Salvation in African Christianity*." Paper presented to students at Central University College, Accra, Ghana, 18-19.

Alexander E. Kimberly. "The Pentecostal Church: A Sacramental Healing Community." *Ecumenical Trends*, vol. 41, no. 8 (2012): 1-14.

_____. "How Wide Thy Healing Streams Are Spread: Constructing a Wesleyan Pentecostal Model for Healing for the Twenty-First Century." *Asbury Theological Journal*, vol. 59, no. 12 (2004): 63-76.

Alvarado E. Johnathan. "Pentecostal Epiclesis: A Model For Teaching and Learning. *PNEUMA*, vol. 35 (2013): 180-198.

Anderson Allan. *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

_____. *Bazalwene: African Pentecostals in South Africa*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1992.

_____. "Pentecostal Pneumatology and African Power Concepts: Continuity or Change?" *Missionalia*, 19 (1990): 65-74.

_____. "Varieties, Taxonomies and Definitions." In *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Anderson Allan, et al., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

_____. *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the Twentieth* Century. Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 2001.

_____. "Stretching Out Hands to God: Origins and Development of Pentecostalism in Africa." In *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Post-Colonial Societies*, eds. Martin Lindhardt. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015, 54-74.

_____. *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2000.

_____. "Towards a Pentecostal Missiology for the Majority World." *AJPS*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2015): 33-34.

_____. "Pentecostal Approaches to Faith and Healing." *IRM*, vol. 91, no. 363 (2002): 532-534.

Anderson L. Gordon. "Signs and Wonders" In *The Pentecostal Pastor: A Mandate for the 21st Century*, eds. Trask E. Wayde, Goodall I and Bicket J. Zenas. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1997, 305.

_____. "Pentecostal Hermeneutics Part 2." Paraclete, vol. 28, no. 1 (1994). Accessed November November 13, 2017, available online at: http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/top/holyspirit-articledisplay.cfm?targetBay=1b574def-b227-4617-bfc7-a02cdb9269D2&ModID=2&Process=DisplayArticle&RSS_RSSContentID=15178&RSS_OriginatingChannellID=1170&RSS_OriginatingRSSFeedID=4486&RSS_Source.

Anderson M. Robert. *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979.

Anderson Valarie. *Research Methods in Human Resource Management*. London: CIPD, 2009.

Apostolic Church in Zambia (ACZ) Constitution 2010.

Arrington L. French. “The Use of the Bible by Pentecostals.” *PNEUMA*. Vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 101-105.

Asamoah-Gyandu K. Johnson “From Prohetism to Pentecostalism: Religious Innovation in African Religious Scholarship.” *JRA*, vol. 17, no.1 (1987): 2-31.

_____. Renewal Within African Christianity: A Study of Some Current Historical and Theological Development Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana. PhD diss., The University of Birmingham, UK, 2000.

Atienmo O. Abamfo. *The Rise of the Charismatic Movements in the Mainline Churches in Ghana*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, Christian Council of Ghana, 1993.

Atkinson P. William. *The ‘Spiritual Death’ of Jesus: A Pentecostal Investigation*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Auslander, M. “‘Open the Wombs!’: The Symbolic Politics of Modern Ngoni Witch-Finding.” In *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in the Post-Colonial Africa*, eds. Comaroff Jean and Comaroff John. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 167-192.

Bae, H. S. “Full Gospel Theology as a Distinctive for Korean Pentecostal Theological Practice.” *Spirit and Church*, vol. 2, no. 2 (November 2000): 169-181.

Bäeta, C. G. *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of Some ‘Spiritual’ Churches*. London: SCM Press, 1962.

Banister Doug. *Word and Power Church*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999.

Barrett B. David, Kurian T. George and Johnson M. Todd (eds). *World Christian Encyclopaedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World AD 1900-2000,* 2nd edn., 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

_____. et. al., *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World,* Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

_____. *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in Modern World, AD 1900-2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Barrett D. T. "Civic Society and Democracy: A Zambian Case Study." *JSAS*, vol. 26 (2000): 429-446.

Bauman M. Chad. *Pentecostals, Proselytization and Anti-Christian Violence in Contemporary India.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Bediako Kwame. *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of Non-Western Religion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.

Bell N. Emma. "Questions and Answers." *Christian Evangel* (April 1919): 1-3.

Benard K. David. *History of Christian Doctrines*. Hazelwood: Word Aflame Press, 2001.

Binsbergen van Wim. *Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1981.

Bloesch G. Donald. *The Crisis of Piety: Essays Towards a Theology of the Christian Life*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968.

Bond C. George. "Ancestors and Protestants: Religious Co-existence in the Social Field of a Zambian Community." *American Ethnologist*, 14.1 (1987): 55-72.

Bond J. "What is Distinctive About Pentecostal Theology?" In *What Is Distinctive About Pentecostal Theology?* Eds. Clark S. Mathew and Lederle I. Henry. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1989, 133-142.

Bobrinskoy Boris. "Holy Spirit." In *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, ed. Lossky Nicholas. Geneva: WWC Publications, 1991, 472.

Bonhoeffer Dietrich. *The Cost of Discipleship*. London: SCM Press, 1959.

Bosch, J. David *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991.

Bosworth F. Fred. *Christ the Healer.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2000 [1924].

Bowler Kate. *A History of the American Prosperity Gospel*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Bruner D. Frederick. *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1973.

_____. *A Theology of the Holy Spirit.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1973.

Burgess M. Stanley. *Encyclopedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity*. New York and London: Routledge, 2006.

Burgess Stanley and Edward Van Maar. "Introduction." In *NIDPCM*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003, xvii-xxii.

_____. *NIDPCM*, rev. and exp. ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002.

Burgess Richard "Pentecostals and Politics in Nigeria and Zambia: An Historical Perspective."In *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Post-Colonial Societies*, eds. Martin Lindhardt. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015, 291-321.

Brereton L. Virginia. *From Sin to Salvation: Stories of Women's Conversions from 1800 to the Present*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

Buter M. W. Margaret. *Prophetess Alice Lenshina, God's African Commander: Her Generational Blessings and Legacy*. London: Tremendous Wealth Publishers, 2011.

Campbell Ted. *Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Carmody Brendan. "The Nature and Role of Christian Conversion in Zambia," *IJSCC*, vol. 7, no. 2 (May 2007): 109-133.

Cartledge J. Mark. Pentecostal Healing as an Expression of Godly Love: An Empirical Study." *Mental Health, Religion and Culture*, vol. 16, no 5. (2013): 501-562.

_____. *Practical Theology, Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives*. London: Paternoster Press, 2003.

_____. *Encountering the Spirit: The Charismatic Tradition*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2006.

Castelo Daniel. "Tarrying on the Lord: Affetions, Virtues and Theological Ethics in Pentecostal Perspective." *JPT*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2004): 35-82.

Calvin John. *Institutes of the Christian Faith*, ed. John T. McNeil, trans. Battles, L. Ford. Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1960.

Chabu S. Bwalya. *A History of Early Christian Missions and Church in Zambia*. Ndola: Mission Press, 2005.

Chalwe Adriano. "An Evaluation of the Missionary History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia." PhD diss., North-West University, 2008.

Charette Blaine. "Reflective Speech: Glossolalia and the Image of God." *PNEUMA*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2006): 186-201.

Charmaz Kathy. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage, 2006.

Charton Lislie. *Sparks in the Stubble: Colin Morit of Zambia*. London: Epworth Press, 1969.

Cheyeka M. Austin. "Proclamation of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation' by President Frederick Chiluba." MA Thesis, University of Birmingham, UK, 1995.

_____. "Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Zambia." in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonia Zambia*, eds. Gewald Jan-Bart, Marja Hinfelaar Marja and Macola Giacomo. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008,144-163.

_____. "The Concept of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation,'" *AER*. vol. 44 (2000): 169-184.

Chiboleka J. "Brief History of Kasumpe Bible College." Principal's Report, Lusaka, April 1988.

_____. "The Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia: A Historical Perspective Towards the Year 2000." MA thesis, Living Waters Bible College, 2000.

Chilenje Victor. "The Origins and Development of the Church of God Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1982-2004." PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, 2007.

Chinsali District DC's Report on Lenshina, 1956, National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), NP 3/12/3.

Clark S. Mathew and Henry I. Lederle, at el. *What is Distinctive About Pentecostal Theology?* Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1989.

Clark S. Mathew. "An Investigation into the Nature of a Viable Pentecostal Hermeneutic." PhD diss., University of South Africa, 1997.

_____. "The Relationship Between Christianity and Society: A Study in Jŭegen Moltmann from Pentecostal Perspective." PhD diss., University of South Africa, 1989.

_____. "Questionining Every Consensus." *AJPS*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2002): 73-86.

_____. "What is Distictive About Pentecostal Theology? 22 Years Later." Accessed February 20, 2015. Available at: www.glopent_net/what-is-distinctive-about-pentecostal-theol-22-years-on-pdf.

Clifton R. Clark. *African Christology: Jesus in Post-Missionary African Christianity*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011.

Clifton Shane and Ormerod Niel. "Pentecostals and Politics." *AJPS*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2007): 229-244.

Colson E. "AIDS and Behavioural Change: Gwembe Valley, Zambia." *African Social Research*, vol. 51 (2005): 1-19.

Coulter M. Dale. *Holiness: The Beauty of Perfection*. Cleveland, TN: Pathway, 2004.

Cox Harvey. *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995.

Coyne John. *A History of the Jesuits in Zambia*. Lusaka: Unpublished Typescript at the Jesuit Novitiate, 1970.

Creswell W. John. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3rd ed. London: Sage, 2009.

Csordas J. Thomas. *Body, Meaning, Healing*. Basingstoke: New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002.

_____ *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Daniel Onyechi. *Waging War with Knowledge: Doing Strategic and Bold Intercession*. Port Harcourt: Spiritual Life Publications, 2003.

Dayton W. Donald. *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press Inc., 1987.

Denscombe Martyn. *The Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Mixed Methods Research*. Maidenhead, Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education/Open University Press, 2010.

Denzin K. Norman and Lincoln S. Yvonne. *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications, 2008.

Devenish David. *What on Earth is the Church For?: A Blueprint for the Future for the Church Based Mission and Social Involvement*. Milton Keynes: Authentic Media, 2005.

De Wet Christian Rudolph. "The Apostolic Faith Mission in Africa 1908-1980: A Case Study in Church Growth in a Segregated Society." PhD diss., University of Cape Town, 1989.

Dieter E. Melvin. "The Wesleyan Perspective." In *Five Views on Sanctification*, ed. Gundry Stanley. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987.

Doran M. Robert. *Theology and Dialectics of History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Dillion-Malone Clive. "The Mutumwa Church of Peter Mulenga." *JRA*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1987): 2-31.

Douglas A. *God's Answers to Man's Questions: 100 Bible Lessons.* Greenville: W. D. Kennedy, Route 8, 1988.

Dunn D. G. James. *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*. London: SCM Press, 1970.

Elkins P. "Case Studies: A Pioneer Team in Zambia, Africa." *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, eds. Winter R. D. and Hawthorne S. C. Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999.

Eschardt J. *Transipositioning From the Pastoral to the Apostolic*. Chicago, IL: Crusades Ministries, 2000.

Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) Handbook

Evangelical of Zambia/Dawn Ministries International. *Lusaka Urban Church Survey: Exposing the Unevangelised Localities and People of Lusaka* City, 2002.

Executive Council Minutes of the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia (AFMZ), 10/12/1991, 22/08/1992, 27/01/1993 and 24/03/1993.

Farah Charles. "A Critical Analysis: The Roots and Fruits of Faith Formula Theology." *PNEUMA*, vol. 3 (1981): 3-21.

_____. "Avoid Extremes in Healing." In *The Shepherd Staff*, ed. Mahoney Ralpha. Burbank, CA: Word Map, 1995.

Faupel W. David. "The Functions of 'Models' in the Interpretation of Pentecostal Thought." *PNEUMA*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1980): 51-71.

_____. The American Pentecostal Movement: A Biograhical Essay: Wilmore: BL Fisher Library, Asbury Theological Seminary: First Fruits Press, 1972. Accessed October 9, 2018. Available at: https://www.place.asburyseminary.edu/cgi/viewcontent_cgi?article=1004&content=firstfruitspapers.

_____. "The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought." *JPTS*, vol. 10 (1996): 28-34.

Fee D. Gordon. *The Disease of the Health and Wealth Gospels*. Vancouver: Front Line Publishing, 2006.

_____. *New Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors*. Louiseville: WJK, 2002.

Ferguson B. Sinclair. "The Reformed View." In *Christian Spirituality: Five Views of Sanctification*, ed. Alexander L. David. Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988, 47-93.

Fisher H. Robin. “Conversion Reconsidered: Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black Africa.” *In African Conversion*, ed. Carmody Brendan. Ndola: Mission Press, 2001, 32-33.

Foddy H. William. *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires: Theory and Practice in Social Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Frame M. John. *In Defence of Something Close to Biblicism: Reflections on ‘Sola Scriptura’ and History in Theological Method*. Accessed September 23, 2016. Available at: http://www.frame-poythress.org/frame_articles/Biblicism.htm.

Freston P. *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Freston Paul. “Popular Protestants in Brazilian Politics: A Novel Turn in Sect-State Relations,” *Social Compass*, vol. 41, no. 4 (2008): 537-570.

Garrard J. David. “Zimbabwe and Zambia,” in *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Burgess Stanley and Van der Maas Eduard. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003, 1225-1229.

Gause Hollis. *Living in the Spirit: The Way of Salvation*. Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1980.

Gee Donald. *Wind and Flame*. Croydon: AoG, 1967.

Gerloff I. H. Roswith “A Plea for British Black Theologies: The Black Church Movement in Britain in Its Transatlantic Cultural and Theological Interaction.” *Studies in Intercultural History of Christianity*, 77. Frankfurt am Main, New York: Peter Lang, 1992.

Gifford Paul. “Chiluba’s Christian Nation: Christianity as a Factor in Zambian Politics 1991-1996.” *JCR*, vol. 13, no. 3 (1998): 363-381.

_____. *African Christianity: Its Public Role*. London: C. Hurt and Company, 1998.

_____. "Chiluba's Christian Nation: Christianity as a Factor in Zambian Politics 1991-1996." *JCR*, vol. 13, no. 3 (1998): 363-381.

_____. "Some Recent Developments in African Christianity." *African Affairs*, vol. 93 (1994): 513-543.

_____. *The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Gladwin W. John. *God's People in God's World: Biblical Motives for Social Involvement*. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1979.

Glaser G. Barney and Strauss L. Aselm. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine, 1967.

Good Kenneth. "Debt and the One-Party State in Zambia." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, no. 2 (1989): 297-313. Accessed November 13, 2017. Available at:

Gordon L. Anderson. "Pentecostal Hermeneutics Part 1," Paraclete, vol. 28, no. 1 (1994) http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/top/holyspirit_articledisplay.cfm?targetBay=1b574def-b227-4617-bfc7-a02cdb926902&ModID=2&Process=DisplayArticle&RSS_RSSContentID=15178&RSS_OriginatingChannellD=1170&RSS_OriginatingRSSFeedID=4486&RSS_Source.

Gordon M. David. "The UNIP-Lumpa Conflict Revisited." In *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia*, eds. Gewald Jan-Bart, Hinfelaar Marja and Macola Giacomo. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008, 45-76.

_____. *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History*. Anthens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012.

Graham S. Maxwell. *Last Stone Standing: Why Do It the Way We Do?* Wexford: Wigglesworth Press, 2010.

Grenz J. Stanley. *Renewing the Centre*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000.

Griffin, W. A. *Pentecostal Theology: Roots and Offshoots.* Notes on Pentecostal Theology, Toronto, Pentecostal Assemblies of God Headquarters, 2007.

Grudem Wayne. *Bible Doctrines: Essential Teachings of the Christian Faith*. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1999.

Hall J. David and Hall M. Ira. *Practical Social Research: Project Work in the Community*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.

Handson Margaret and Hentz J. James. "Neo-colonialism and Neo-liberalism in South Africa and Zambia." *PSQ*, vol. 144, no. 3 (1999): 479-502.

Haar Ter Gerrie. *Spirit of Africa: The Healing Ministry of Archbishop Milingo*. London: Hurt and Company, 1992.

Henkel Reinhard. *Christian Mission in Africa: A Social Geographical Study of Their Activities in Zambia*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989.

Hiebert G. Paul. *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008.

Hinfelaar Hugo. *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia 1895-1995*. Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2004.

_____. "Women's Revolt: The Lumpa Church of Lenshina Mulenga in the 1950s." *JRA*, vol. 2, Fasc. 2 (May 1991):12ff.

Hodges L Melvin. "A Pentecostal's View of Mission Strategy." In *Azusa Street and Beyond*, ed. Grant McClung. Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2006.

Hollenweger J. Walter. *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997.

_____. *The Pentecostals.* London: SCM Press, 1972.

_____. "After Twenty Years Research on Pentecostalism," *IRM*, vol. LXXV, no. 297 (1985): 10-11.

_____. The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches. Minneapolis: Asbury, 1972.

Hollis Gause R. *Living in the Spirit: The Way of Salvation*. Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1980.

Holmes A. "Descriptions of the Main Four Elements of a Christian Worldview." In *The Idea of a Christian College*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989, 57-60.

Horton Stanley. "Spirit Baptism: A Pentecostal Perspective." In *Perspectives on Spirit Baptism*, ed. Chad O. Brand. Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2004.

Horton Harold. *What is the Good of Speaking with Tongues?: An Enthusiastic Vindication of Supernatural Endownment*. London: Assemblies of God Publishers, 1960.

Hydén Göran. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Instone-Brewer David. "Teetotalism: A Historic Hangover." *Christianity* (February 2016): 68-69.

Jacobsen G. Douglas. *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003.

Jansen Eva and Lang Claudia. "Transforming the Self and Healing the Body Througjh the Use of Testimonies in a Divine Retreat Center, Kerala." *JRH*, vol. 51, no. 2 (2012): 542-551.

Jenkins Philip. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Christianity in the 20th Century*. Trenton, NJ: Africa Word Press, 2001.

Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR), "World Fact Book, 2012." Accessed September 23, 2013. Available at: http://www.jctr.org.zm.

Johnson Patrick and Mandryk Jason. *Operations World: 21st Century Edition*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001.

Johnson Walton. "Africanisation of a Mission Church: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Zambia." In *African Christianity*, eds. Bond C. George, Johnson Walton and Walker Sheila. New York: Academic Press, 1979, 89-107.

Judd F. Carrie. *The Prayer of Faith*. Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1880.

Kalu Ogbu. *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Kapolyo M. Joe. *The Human Condition: Christian Perspectives Through African Eyes*. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2005.

Kärkäinen Veli-Matti. "'Encountering Christ in the Full Gospel Way': An Incarnational Pentecostal Spirituality." *JEPTA*, vo. 27, no. 1 (2007):5-19.

_____. *Holy Spirit and Salvation: The Source of Christian Theology*. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminister John Knox Press, 2010.

Keller, Timothy. *Ministries of Mercy: The Call to the Jericho Road*, 2nd edn. Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R, 1997.

Klassen E. Pamela. *Spirits of Protestantism: Medicine, Healing and Liberal Christianity*. California: University of California Press, 2011.

Knight H. Henry. "God's Faithfulness and God's Freedom: A Comparison of Contemporary Theologies of Healing." *JPT*, vol. 2 (1993): 65-89.

Kodua Alfred. *Christianity in Ghana Today*. Accra: Advocate Publishing Limited, 2004.

Kollman Paul. "Classifying African Christianities: Past, Present, and Future (Part One)," *JRA*, 40 (2010): 3-32.

Kollman Paul. “Classifying African Christianities: Past, Present, and Future (Part One),” *JRA*, 40 (2010): 3-32.

Kramer E. “Making Global Faith Universal: Media and a Brazilian Prosperity Movement.” *Culture and Religion*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2002): 21-48.

Kydd A. N. Ronald. *Healing Through the Centuries: Models for Understanding*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998.

Land J. Steven. “Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom.” *Journal of Pentecostal Theology,* Supplement 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 80-81.

Larbi K. Emmanuel. *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity.* Dansoman, Accra: Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies, 2001.

Latourette S. Kenneth. *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976.

Long T. E. “A Theology of Prophetic Religion and Politics.” In *The Politics of Religion and Social Change: Religion and Political Order*, vol. 2, eds. Anson Shupe and Jeffrey H. Hadden. New York: Paragon House, 1988, 3-17.

Lumbe M. K. John. “Origins and Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movements in Zambia Between 1989 and 2000.” PhD diss., University of South Africa, 2008.

Ma Julie. “Eschatology and Mission: Living in the Last Days Today.” *Transformation*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2009): 186-198.

Macchia D. Frank. “The Question of Tongues as Initial Evidence: A Review of Initial Evidence,” ed. McGee B. Gary, *JPT*, vol. 2 (1993): 117-127.

Mahdi A. Abbas. “Secular Education of Muslim Children in Zambia.” *JIMMA*, vol. 3, Iss. 2 (1981): 86-98.

Manglos D. Nicolette. “Born Again in Balaki: Pentecostal Verse Catholic Narratives of Religious Transformation in Rural Malawi.” *SR*, vol. 71, no. 4 (2010): 409-431.

Mapes Roberts. *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979.

Marshall Ruth. *Political Spiritualities: The Political Revolution in Nigeria*. Chicagoi, IL: University of California Press, 2009.

Martin David. *Forbidden Revolutions: Pentecostalism in Latin America and Catholicism in Eastern Europe*. London: SPCK, 1996.

_____. *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish*. Oxford, Malden and Carton, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Marwick G. Max. “Another Modern Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East Central Africa.” *Africa*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1950): 100-112.

Maxwell David. *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the Rise of Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement*. Oxford: James Currey, 2006.

Mbiti S. John. “‘òυωηιc’ as an African Experience of Salvation Today.” In *Living Faiths and Ultimate Goals*, ed. Samartha S. J. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1974, 112.

_____. *Concepts of God in Africa*. London: SPCK, 1970.

McClung, L. Grant. “The Truth on Fire: Pentecostals and an Urgent Missiology.” In *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecostal Missions and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Wagner Peter. South Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1986, 49.

McConnell, D. R. *A Different Gospel: A Historical and Biblical Analysis of the Modern Faith Movement*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988.

McConnell, D. R. *A Different Gospel: A Historical and Biblical Analysis of the Modern Faith Movement*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988.

McLeod John. *Doing Counselling Research*, 2nd edn. London: Sage Publication Limited, 2003.

Menzies Robert. *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*. JSNT Supplement 54. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.

_____. *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts. Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, Supplement 6. Sheffied: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994, 18-33.

Meyer Birgit. “Making a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghananian Pentecostal Discourse.” *JRA*, vol. 28, no. 3 (1998): 316-349.

_____. *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1999.

M’fundisi Naar. “Pentecostal and Charismatic Spiritualities and Civic Engagement in Zambia (1964-2012).” PhD diss., University of Birmingham, UK, December 2014.

Miller W. Thomas. *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of* Canada. Mississauga, Ontario: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994.

Mittlelstadt W. Martin. *Reading Luke-Acts in the Pentecostal Tradition*. Cleveland, TN: CPT Press, 2010.

Mouw Richard. "Evangelical Ethics." In *The Lord of Evangelical Piety and Thought*, eds. Noll A. Mark and Thiemann F. Ronald. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000, 71-86.

Mpuku C. Herrick and Zyyuulu Ivan. *Contemporary Issues in Socio-Economic Reforms in Zambia.* (Alslershot, Hants, UK/Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997): 1-2.

Mumba Sekwila Nevers' Recorded Telecast on Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC). September 24, 1995.

Mumford J. Debra. "Prosperity Gospel in African American Prophetic Preaching." *Review and Expositor*, vol 109 (2012): 356-385.

Munshya was Munshya Elias. "The Declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian Nation': Blessing or Curse?: What Gershom Ndhlovu Misses About Pentecostals." Elias Munshya wa Munshya Blog. Accessed January 13, 2016. Availabel at: http://www.eliasmunshya.org/2013/the-declaration-of-zambia-as-a-christian-nation-blessing-or-curse-what-gershom-ndhlovu-misses-about-pentecostals.

_____. Accessed March 25, 2014. Available at: https://www.eliasmunshya.org//2014/03/24/isStella-shooting-at-shadows-hichilema-police-ig-libongani-amayendele.

Murphy Edward. *A History of the Jesuits in Zambia: A Mission Becomes a Province*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2003.

Murphy Edward. *A History of the Jesuits in Zambia: A Mission Becomes a Province*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2003.

Museveni K. Yoweri. *What is Africa's Problem?* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992 and 2000.

Mutenda L. K. Kovina. *A History of the Christian Brethren (Christian Missions in Many Lands – CMML) in Zambia: One Hundred Years of God's Faithfulness and Partnership in the Gospel, 1898-1998*. Chingola: Christian Resource Centre, 2002.

Nienkirchen W. Charles. *A B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement.* Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992.

Northern Rhodesia Political Intelligence Report, February-March 1956, National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), NP 3/12/3.

O'Donovan Wilbur. *A Biblical Christianity in Modern Africa*. Katunayake, Sri Lanka: Paternoster Press, 2006.

O'Shea Michael. *Missionaries and Miners*. Ndola: Mission Press, 1986.

Ojo A. Matthew. "The Contextualisation and Significance of Charismatic Movement in Independent Nigeria," *Africa*, vol. 58 (1998): 175-190.

Oyedepo O. David. *Understanding Financial Prosperity*. Lagos: Dominion Publishing House, 2005.

Onyinah Opoku. *Pentecostals and Charismatics: Similarities and Dissimilarities*. Accra: Pentecost Press Limited, 2006.

_____. "Akan Witchcraft and the Concept of Exorcism in the Church of Pentecost." PhD diss., University of Birmingham, UK, 2002.

Peterson Randall. *Constructing Effective Questionnaires*. London: Sage Publications, 2000.

Petts David. “The Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The Theological Distinctive” In *Pentecostal Perspectives,* ed. Warrington Keith. Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998, 98-119.

_____. “Healing and Atonement.” PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 1993.

PEW Research Centre. “Spirit and Power – A 10-Country Survey of Pentecostals.” Last modified October 5, 2006. Available at: http://www.pew.pewforum.org/2006/10/05/spirit-and-power.

Phiri A. Isabel “President Frederick Chiluba and Zambia: Evangelicals and Democracy in a ‘Christian Nation.’” In *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa: Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in the Global South*, ed. Ranger O. Terence. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, 95-100.

_____. “President Frederick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia: The Christian Nation and Democracy.” *JRA*, vol. 33, no. 4 (2003): 401-428.

_____. “President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia: The ‘Christian Nation’ and Democracy.” *JRA*, vol. 33, no. 4 (2003): 401-428.

_____. “Decades of Harvest.” *CDQFM* (May 1990): 1-3.

Phiri K. Jason. “African Spirituality: A Study of the Emerging African Pentecostal Churches in Zambia.” PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2009.

Piggin Stuart. *Firestorm of the Lord*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000.

Pimlott Nigel. *Social Activism: A Youth Worker’s Guide to Activism and Discipleship.* Cambridge: Grove Books Limited, 2017.

Plass Adrian and Plass Bridget. *The Son of God is Dancing: A Message of Hope*. Bletchley, Milton Keynes: Authentic Media, 2005.

Poloma M. Margaret. “Pentecostal Prayer Within the Assemblies of God: An Empirical Study.” *PNEUMA*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2009): 47-65.

Prince Derek. *Blessing or Curse: You Can Choose*. Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen Books, 1990.

Ralph Mahoney. *The Shepherd's Staff, Indian Edition*. Madras: India Bible Literature, Kilpauk, 1993.

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Lumpa Church, (Lusaka, 1965). National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), The MHA 1/3/10.

Reports of the Lenshina Movement, n.d. [1955-1956 (?)] National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), NP 3/12/3.

Ritchie A. Donald. *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, 2nd edn. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Robeck Cecil Jr. "Willian J. Seymour and the Bible Evidence." In *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism*, ed. McGee B. Gary. Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1991.

Roberts, Oral. *If You Need Healing, Do These Things*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 1950.

Robinson James. *Divine Healing: The Formative Years 1830-1890 Theoligical Roots in Transatlantic World*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011.

_____. *Divine Healing: The Years of Expansion, 1906-1930: Theological Variation in the Transatlantic World*. Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2011.

Rodríguez, A. L. Dario and Waldrop E. Richard. "The God of Life and the Spirit of Life: The Social and Political Dimension of Life in the Spirit," *SWC*, vol. 17 (January 1, 2011): 2-14.

Robinson, James. *Divine Healing: The Years of Expansion, 1906-1930: The Theological Variation in the Transatlantic World*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock. Accessed October 9, 2018. Available at: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=yocNBQAAQBAJ&pg=PT79.

Rotberg I. Robert. *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

_____. *Corruption, Global Security and World Order*. Cambridge: World Peace Foundation, 2009.

_____. *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Rudolph de Wet Christian. "The Apostolic Faith Mission in Africa 1908-1980: A Case Study in Church Growth in a Segregated Society." PhD diss., University of Cape Town, ITI, Mildrand, 1989.

Rousseau Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract and Discourses*. London: Deut, 1973.

Sålsett J. Sturla. *Spirits of Globalisation: The Growth of Pentecostalism and Experiential Spiritualities in a Global Age*. London: SCM Press, 2006.

Samarin William. *Tongues of Men and Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism*. New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Sepúlveda Juan. "To Overcome the Fear of Syncretism: A Latin American Perspective." In *Mission Matters,* eds. Price L, Sepúlveda Juan and Smith G. Frankfurt and Main: Peter Lang, 1997.

ShaullCesar R. W. *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

Saunders N. K. Mark, et al. *Research Methods for Business Students.* London: Pitman/Financial Times, 2012.

Shaw G. P. *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton, 1988-1853: Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*. Carton: Melbourne University Press, 1978.

Shepperd J. W. "Worship" In *The New Testament Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Burgess Stanley and Van der Maas E. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002, 1217.

Scott E. P. "Lusaka's Informal Sector in National Economic Development." *Journal of Developing Areas*, vol. 20 (1985): 151-160.

Sherlock Chris. *The Doctrine of Humanity*. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1996.

Sidhu S. Kalyanaraman. *Methodology of Research in Education*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Ltd, 1984.

Simpson, B. Albert *The Four-Fold Gospel*, repr. 1925. Harrisburg, PA: Christian Alliance Publishing Co., 1890.

_____ *Gospel of Healing*. Harrisburg: Christian Publications, 1915.

Sinco J. R. "Towards A Movement of Social Transformation in the Philippines." *JAM*, vol. 14 (January 1999): 14.

Smart Ninian. *The World's Religions: Old Traditions and Modern Transformations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Soko Lukas. "A Practical Theological Assessment of the Schisms in the Reformed Church in Zambia. PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2010.

Spittler P. Russell. "Implicit Values in Pentecostal Missions," *Missiology: An International Review*, vol. 16, no. 4 (October 1988): 409-424.

_____. "Suggested Areas for Further Research in Pentecostal Studies." *PNEUMA*, vol. 5 (Fall 1983): 39-57.

Strauss L. Anselm and Corbin M. Juliet. *Grounded Theory in Practice*. London: Sage Publication, 1997.

Suckling Gordn. *Kachongu Sesa-Mbinga: A Story of a Big Game Hunter Who Became an Ambassador of Christ*. Chingola: AOG Youth Press, 1996.

Stansky F. Thomas. "Evangelization, Mission and Social Action: A Roman Catholic Perspective." *Review and Expositor*, vol. 78, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 343-350.

Stewart W. D. Gareth. *Word and Power: Is the Theology of John Wimber Compatible with Presbyterian Theology and Practice?* Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1997.

Stott J. *The Baptism and Fullness of the Holy Spirit*. Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1964.

Studebaker Steven. "Pentecostal Soteriology and Pneumatology." *JPT*. Vol. 11, no. 2 (2003): 248-270.

Synan Vinson. *In the Latter Days*, rev. ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Servant, 1991.

Teffo J. Lesiba and Roux P. J. Abraham. "Themes in African Metaphysics." In *The African Philosophy Reader*, eds. Coetzee P. H. and Roux P. J. Abraham. London: Routledge, 2003, 161-174.

Tempels Placide. "Bantu Philosophy: Placide Tempels Revisited," *JRA*, vol. xiii, no. 2.

Tee B. Alexander. "The Doctrine of Healing" In *Pentecostal Doctrine*, ed. Brewser S. Percy. Cheltenham: Grenhurst Press, 1976, 200-201.

Tang Edmond. “Yellers and Healers: Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Pentecostalism in China.” In *Asian and Pentecostal*, eds. Anderson Allan and Tang Edmond. Oxford: Regnum, 2005, 379-394.

Taylor Malcolm. “A Historical Perspective on the Doctrine of Divine Healing.” *EPTA Bulletin*, vol, 14 (1995): 6-12.

Ter Haar Gerrie. *Halfway to Paradise: African Christians in Europe*. Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998.

_____. *Spirit of Africa: The Healing Ministry of Archbishop Milingo of Zambia.* London: Hurst and Company, 1992.

The Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), “Nevers Mumba: Zambia for Christ.” Accessed January 4, 2013. Available at: http://www.l.cbn.com/700club/nevers-mumba-zambia-christ.

Thomas C. John. “Pentecostal Theology in the Twenty-First Century.” *PNEUMA*, vo. 20, no. 1 (1998): 3-19.

_____. The Devil, Disease and Deliverance: Origins of Illness in New Testament Thought.” *Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement 13*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998, 310-319.

Thompson, K. Matthew. “Kingdom Come: Revisioning Pentecostal Eschatology.” *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, Supplement 37. Blandford Forum, UK: Deo, 2010, 59-160.

Time Magazine. 75th Anniversary Issue (March 9, 1998).

Turner W. Harold. *Religious Innovation in Africa.* Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1979.

Turner Philip. “The Wisdom of the Fathers and the Gospel of Christ: Some Notes on Christian Adaption in Africa. *JRA.* Vol. iv (1971): 45-68.

Twelftree H. Graham. *Christ Triumphant: Exorcism Then and Now*. London: Hodder and Stroughton, *1985*.

Vickery P. Kenneth. *Black and White in Southern Africa*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.

Volf Miroslav. "Materiality of Salvation: An Investigation in the Soteriologies of Liberation and Pentecostal Theologies." *JES*, vol. 26, no. 3 (1989): 447-467.

Vondey Wolfgang. "Pentecostal Ecclesiology and Eucharistic Hospitality: Toward a Systematic and Ecumenical Account of the Church." *PNEUMA*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2010): 41-55.

_____. *Pentecostalism: A Guide for the Perplexed*. London and New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013.

Wacker Grant Jnr. "Pentecostalism," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Transitions and Movements,* vol. 2, eds. Lippy H. Charles and William W. Peter. New York: Charles Scriner's & Son, 1988, 933.

_____. *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Warrington Keith. *Jesus the Healer: Paradigm or Phenomenon*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000.

_____. "The Path to Wholeness: Beliefs and Practices Relating to Healing in Pentecostalism." *Evangel*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2003): 45-49.

_____. *Pentecostal Theology: A Theology of Encounter*. London: T & T Clark, 2008.

Ware L. Frederick. "On the Compatibility/Incompatibility of Pentecostal Premillenialism with Black Liberation Theology." In *Afro-Pentecostalism: Black Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in History and Culture*, eds. Young Amos and Alexander Y. Estrelda. New York: New York University Pressm 2011.

Williams, P. W. New York: Charles Scribner's and Son, 1988.

Wimber John and Springer N. Kelvin. *Power Healing*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986.

Welker Michael. *God and Spirit*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 2004.

Weller Jane and Linden John. *Mainstream Christianity in Malawi, Zambian and Zimbabwe.*

Wessels G. F. "Charismatic Christian Congregations and Social Justice: A South African Perspective," *Missionalia*, vol. 25, no. 3 (November 1997): 360-366.

Williams R. John. *Renewal Theology: Systematic Theology from a Charismatic Perspective Three Volumes in One*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996. vol. 2.

_____. "Harvey Cox and Pentecostalism: A Review of Fire From Heaven." *APS*, vol. 1 (1998): 23-26.

Wilson D. J. "Pentecoctal Perspective on Eschatology." In *The New International Dictictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Burgess M. Stanley. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002, 605.

Wilson E. A. "Brazil." In *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Burgess M. Stanley. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002, 38-39.

World Health Organisation (WHO), Summary Country Profile for HIV/AIDS Treatment Scale-up, 2004, Ministry of Health, Lusaka, Zambia, *Basic Antiretroviral Therapy Clinical Training Course: Referencing Manual*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May 2010): 1-15.

Wright G. *Our Quest for Healing*. Cheltenham: Grenehurst, 1981.

Yong Amos. *Discerning the Spirit(s): A Pentecostal-Charismatic Contribution to Christian Theology of Religions*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

_____. "'Tongues of Fire' in the Pentecostal Imagination: The Truth of Glossolalia in Light of R. C. Neville's Theory of Religious Symbols." *JPT*," vol. 12 (1998): 39-65.

Yong-gi Cho David. *The Five-Fold Gospel and the Three-fold Blessing*. Seoul: Logos Co., 1997.

Yount G. Micheal, *A. B. Simpson: His Message and Impact on the Third Great Awakening*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2016.

Zambian Government Report 3, "Lumpa Rebels Not To Be Punished," East Africa and Rhodesia-Zambia, August 20, 196

Zimbabwe National Evangelism Task (NET) Committee, Target, 2000: Congress Planting, 1992.